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RESEARCHES IN INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

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IT is with feelings of gratitude that I approach you tonight for the kindness with which you have re-elected me for another term of presidentship of our organization. My intention is to speak tonight on some recent trends in Indian anthropology.

Indian anthropology has of late been very much under the stress of the need of application. All over our country there are various organizations which are concerned with the welfare of the people, with the welfare of cities even, and anthropologists, therefore, are being harnessed for the purpose of suggesting ways and means so that our cities can become beautiful, our rural folk may develop themselves and become equal with the rest of the Indian population.

But quite apart from the need of applied research, there is also a tendency to deal with certain fundamental problems in anthropology in various fields, both physical and cultural. I will try to present in very brief outline the different kinds of research which are being conducted in the universities or institutions where anthropological or sociological researches are carried on. Incidentally, it will also be my purpose to refer to the kind of work the Anthropological Survey of India has undertaken of late.

Address at the Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Indian Anthropological Society at the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, on 4 May 1962, by Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose, Director, Anthropological Survey of India, the President of the Society.

Among the fundamental problems with which the social anthropologists are concerned we may mention caste.

Caste has been one of the headaches of Indian society. In the past, anthropologists were more interested in its origin. But now, they try to observe how caste actually functions in Hindu society; what influence it also exercises upon non-Hindus. One of the most important questions which anthropologists are asking themselves is this: How is it that caste has succeeded in enduring through nearly 2,000 years? The latest work in this field is due to the inspiration of Prof. M. N. Srinivas of the Delhi University. His idea is that caste is, more or less, like a banyan tree. When its main root withers away, it throws out new roots so that the tree perpetuates itself. The question is, what is this due to? What is there in Hindu civilization which helps caste to be almost eternal? Prof. Narmadeshwar Prasad of the Patna University has tried to answer it by saying that the indoctrination organized primarily by Brahmans in respect of the 'myth' of caste is responsible for this.

One of the enquiries which has of late been very much favoured in the study of caste is ranking; and in course of studies initiated by Dr. MacKim Marriott or Dr. S. C. Sinha, results of a kind have been achieved. Dr. Marriott has come to the conclusion that Indian society is of a rather peculiar nature; for it is a civilization in which ritual status is valued very highly. The question however remains, why is it that interest in rituals has persisted in spite of numerous social and economic changes?

There are others, among whom I count myself, who have tried to find out how economic change, or rather, changes in the productive organization of society have led to certain changes in the caste structure. We are carrying on some work on that score, and that is all that I wish to say at the present moment.

We have to find out the answer to the question, how caste has succeeded in perpetuating itself over centuries in spite of revolts since the time of the Buddha who did not believe that birth made a man a Brahman, but personally acquired

merit alone did. From that day, 2,500 years have passed by, and caste appears to be as powerful as it was in his time.

Apart from caste, there has also been in recent times an interest in the study of leadership patterns in rural and urban society. There are different sectors of life which are managed in different ways and by different sets of leaders. As social life is in a state of flux, leadership also is. There have been certain studies of leadership, but not very comprehensive. These are confined to a few parts of India, and even then, limited to certain sectors of the population. Probably a little more organization and better planning would help us in getting an all-India picture of some significance.

One of the enquiries we have initiated in the Anthropological Survey in this connection is how castes manage their internal affairs. Between the North and South of India there seems to be a distinction in regard to this question. In both areas, there are panchayats, but the difference between the panchayats seems to lie in this. In the North, the organization seems to be more politically oriented, in the sense that when there are strong differences of opinion a reference is made to some secular authority or to colleges of Brahmans. In the South, the general practice is to refer to some monastic or temple organization, instead of a college of Brahmans directly. Different castes or sects have apparently different monasteries to refer to. Several months ago, I visited the temple of Sankaracharya in Sringeri. It is one of the four mutts established by the Adi Sankaracharya. There is an officer named the Dharmadhikari, who is very learned in the *Dharmaśāstras*, who prepares decisions which are ultimately given under the authority of the present head of the mutt.

What I am suggesting here is, if we look carefully all over India, it is possible that certain differences may be discovered between the North and South, if they actually exist.

The Anthropological Survey of India has recently undertaken a survey of the distribution of certain material traits all over the country. There are altogether 322 districts in India.

Several young workers of the Survey covered 311 districts, when 413 villages in all were investigated for a limited number of material traits. The report has recently been published under the title of *Peasant Life in India*. The second round of enquiry has now begun ; and several workers are now travelling in different portions of the country for collecting details of the techniques of pottery-making and metal-casting.

We now come to another fairly important work which is very much necessary in the whole of India. Workers of the Anthropological Survey of India have prepared a bibliography of physical anthropology. The number of items is nearly 1,350. Primary data have been gathered from many of the authors and recast to present percentages of people having different types of head-form, nose and stature.

When we take the whole of India into consideration, it has been found that the region from U. P. to Bengal is fairly well represented. But there are large areas practically unrepresented ; in many areas, measurements have been taken of tribes like the Toda or Kota, but little is known about others. So, one of the tasks already taken up by the Anthropological Survey of India is a systematic survey of all districts for the physical characteristics of the population. The number of simple measurements chosen is 14. Systematic work has already begun in four States in the South. Our intention now is to spread over to West India. One of our principal purposes there will be to deal with the nomadic population and to find out if they agree or differ from the settled population. If the nine universities of India where anthropology is taught at the post-graduate level also take up the survey at the regional level, we can satisfactorily accomplish the whole work in the course of three or four years.

A recent problem raised by Dr. S. S. Sarkar in his report on Brahmagiri is very significant. He came to an interesting conclusion. The people who are associated with the Iron Age culture happened to be to a large extent meso- and brachy-

cephalic. He believes that there was a distinct infiltration of brachecyphals at this particular period Indian history. If this is so, the actual distribution of brachycephals becomes of very great significance. If we systematically undertake the work, then we hope that in 4 or 6 years' time, something of value can be presented to the anthropological world.

All the work of the Anthropological Survey described above has been generally undertaken by young people below their 40's and generally under 30's, and they have proved to be first-class workers. What we are short of is co-ordination and planning. If we work together, it would easily be possible to build up an all-India picture within a reasonably short time.

There are certain other aspects of physical anthropology which are of inestimable value at the present day.

One of the things which occurs to me is that in certain castes the mating size is very small. Some pilgrimages in India have a number of servants who enjoy a flourishing trade. In order to keep this trade within the family group, some have now drifted into a position in which the size of the mating group has been reduced to about two or three hundred. This has continued at least for six or seven generations. Such a thoroughly inbred population presents a very fertile field for genetic studies. What are the characteristics which have become segregated in such a population ?

Some years ago, Prof. Dobzhansky came to India. He was very much interested in the problem of caste. His suggestion was that caste is to be studied thoroughly from the genetic point of view. In course of the questions which he threw out, one was this. Does any kind of selection take place in regard to specialized castes, who have, for generations, been boatmen, weavers and the like ? The question which Professor Dobzhansky placed before Indian anthropologists was : Does an occupation like the plying of boats require a special type of physical fitness ? Children are born in a family and they naturally vary. Does any selection take place among children of such castes in regard to their family occupation ? Do all

children take it up, or some do ; and if so, why ? Now, here is a problem where anthropology can be of the greatest service from the biologist's point of view. And it is possible in India alone to study a problem of this kind. There is no other field in the world where questions of like nature can be studied with equal profit.

I have tried to present before you some of the problems on which anthropologists have been working or may profitably work in our country. If some young scholars present here feel enthusiastic and begin work on any of these problems, the purpose of the Indian Anthropological Society will be abundantly fulfilled.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN A MUNICIPAL WARD IN CALCUTTA

MEERA GUHA

(Received on 13 May 1962)

The Changing Social Scene

WARD Eight of the present-day Calcutta Corporation, the site under consideration, is part of one of the oldest residential quarters of the city, rich in tradition and history. It belongs to Sutanuti, the historic halt and the subsequent site of the settlement of Job Charnock and the East India Company. This particular village became the residential locality of some of the most prominent Indian inhabitants of the town. After the Battle of Plassey, when it was decided to construct the new Fort William on the site of the village of Govindapur, the inhabitants of that village had to leave their homes. To these people, the Company gave compensatory land in the surrounding areas, and the population began to resettle in Taltala, Sutanuti, Kumartuli and Sobhabazar. Historically, this was also the time of the Maratha raids in Bengal; and as the eastern side had at least the river to halt the predatory hordes, there was a natural incentive for the Indian population to move in there under the protection of the East India Company. In the meanwhile, Maharaja Rajballabh had already built a house in Sutanati; and this became the nucleus of the famous Sobhabazar Rajbati. Several other prominent men had also moved in with their families, namely, Maharaja Nabakrishna, Madanmohan Datta, Raja Durgacharan Mukherjee, Govindaram Mitra. Our locality received two of these very old families. From a study of their family records, we may form some idea of community life in about the middle of the 18th century.

Gokul Chandra Mitra (c. 1742)

His father lived in Baligram, but was forced to leave his home because of Maratha depredation, and establish himself in

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Calcutta. Gokul Mitra served as a contractor for the supply of clothing, horses and provisions for the Company's troops. Besides, he was also engaged in the salt trade. He amassed a large fortune by the time he died. Some idea of this can be gathered from the following list which presents some part of the property he had accumulated.*

	Bigha	Cotta
Chandni Chowk	2	— 10
Two-storied house on Dharamtolla	2	— 2
„ „ „ in Sutanuti	2	— 2
„ „ dwelling house in Baghbazar	1	— 1
One-storied house in Baghbazar	0	— 18
„ „ „ „ Chandni Chowk	0	— 5
„ „ „ „ Dharamtolla	0	— 7
Kutchu houses with land in Sutanuti	2	— 5
„ „ „ „ „ „	0	— 11
„ „ „ „ in Kashi Mitra Ghat St.	2	— 6
Garden on Nimtolla Street	2	— 5
„ in Sutanuti	6	— 0
„ in Dum Dum	18	— 0
Land in Sutanuti	0	— 18
„ on Chitpore Road	0	— 8
„ in Shambazar	0	— 12
29 pucca potato godowns in Burra Bazar Posta		
Zemindari in Burdwan		
„ in Nadia		
Company papers to the value of	Rs. 2,75,5000	
Loan to various people	Rs. 2,23,103	
Gold and silver vessels to the value of	Rs. 16,435	

But perhaps Gokul Mitra is better remembered for the establishment of the Madanmohan Temple. This temple

* De Udvatsagar, Purna Chandra, Madanmohan Thakur (in Bengali).

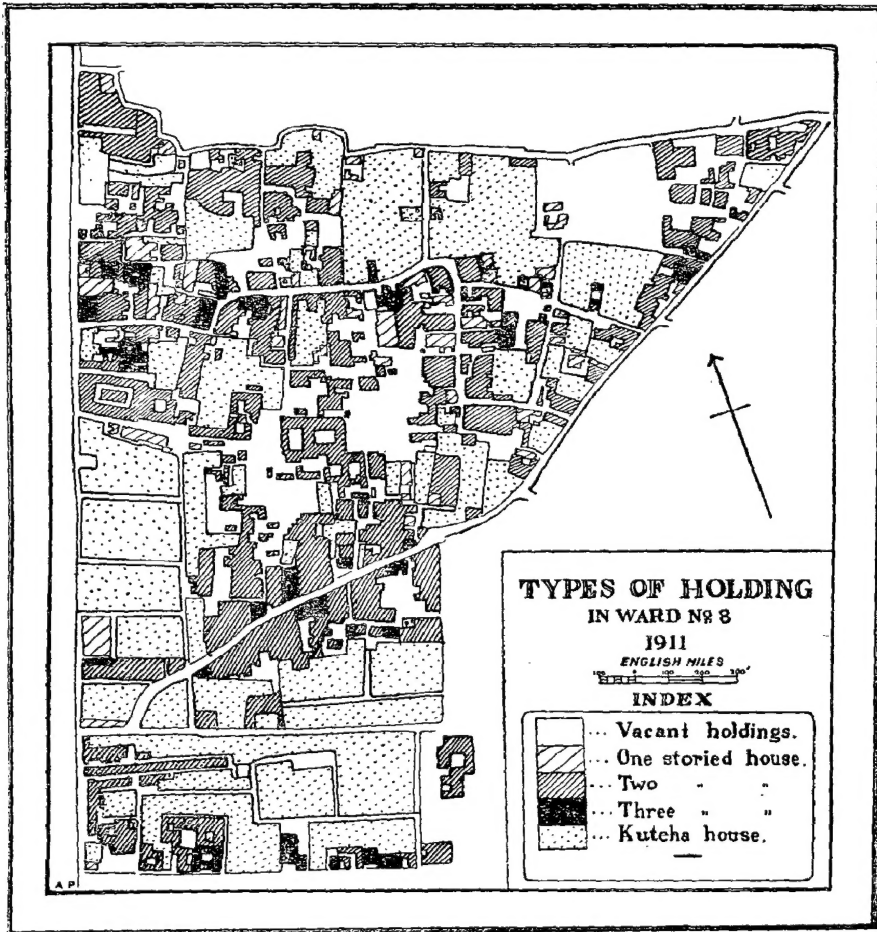
attracted a large number of people during the *Annakut-utsav*, when a fair was also held. The *Annakut-utsav* was initiated for the particular benefit of Vaishnava devotees who were unable to go to Puri to attend the particular festival. Today, the celebration still forms one of the most attractive festivals in the whole of Calcutta. Besides this, the daily worship included the distribution of free meals to the poor. A bathing ghat was also constructed by Gokul Mitra to the south of Nimtolla Ghat; where salt was also loaded and unloaded. There used to be a stretch of land of about 5 bighas at the place where a large salt godown was constructed, giving the locality the name of *Noongola*.

Bishnuram Chakravarty (c. 1740)

He was one of the four *Amins* who accompanied Captain Barker for surveying the territory to be conferred by the Nawab on the East India Company. This was in 1764. Bishnuram also succeeded in amassing a large wealth. Part of the family home still lies within the area. Bishnuram is remembered for the construction of several temples dedicated to Sri Vishweshwar, Sri Radhashyam and Sri Annapurna, the last being located within the family home. He also constructed a bathing ghat in 1798 with four Siva temples, on the Ganga, known today as the Annapurna Ghat.

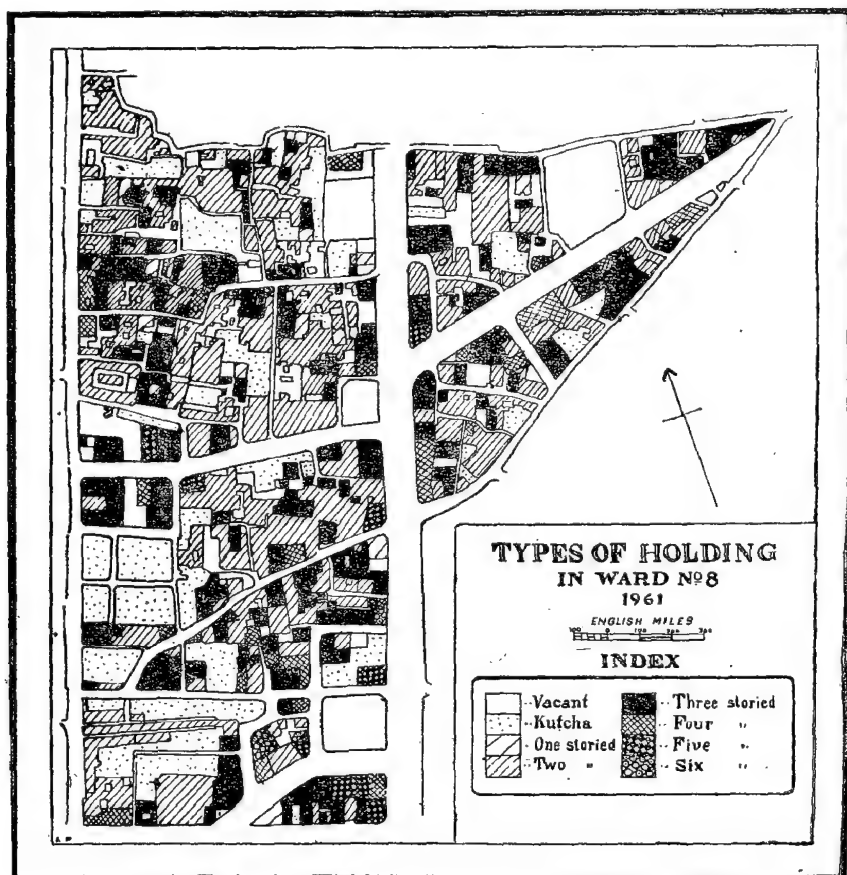
Another very old temple in the area is the Siddheswari Mandir. Legend has it that 500 years ago, when the Ganga flowed more to the east, near the present site of Chitpore Road, a sannyasi, who was in the quest of the different *pithas* (Sakta pilgrimages) in Bengal, received a revelation of the existence of the deity at Kalighat. In grateful commemoration, the sannyasi established a thatched temple over the spot and named the deity, Siddheshwari Kali. Unlike most other temples erected by zemindars, this temple had no *debottar* property, but subsisted entirely on daily collection from devotees. This practice continues to the present day. But it is noteworthy from our point of view that the chief patrons of the deity were the resident rajas and zemindars of the locality. It is said that Govindaram Mitra very often

used to offer sacrifice here. The present temple which replaced the thatched edifice was also the donation of a zemindar, the son of Govindaram Mitra. To this day, the temple attracts many people ; and besides the daily worship there are three main festivals, namely, Durga-puja, Kali-puja and Ratanti Chaturdasi in the month of Magha.



Here then we have a picture of a community whose ties were based on a tradition of collective action stemming from the benevolence of the man of substance ; where civic functions were interrelated with religious and social activities. The name, for example, of Raja Rajballabh is associated with the construction of many important thoroughfares in

Calcutta, one of which is the Diamond Harbour Road.* But travelling down in time through two and a half centuries, we find an entirely new condition today in the same locality. The impingement of a foreign culture and economic pattern has brought into being a new system of classes, and naturally new vested interests. The old social pattern has deteriorated and has been replaced by a new order. We find on investigation



into the same two families and several others of lesser antiquity, that the zemindari form of life has disintegrated ; the joint-family is fast disappearing ; new modes of livelihood are being introduced, namely, service with the Government or in commercial firms. Some have taken to the professions or small business.

* Mukhopadhyaya, Harisadhan : *Kalikata Sekalar O Ekaler* (in Bengali).

As a further example of change, we may refer to centres of Sanskrit learning, the Rarhi and the Vaidik tols or Sanskrit schools which were established by zemindars for imparting education in Sanskrit literature and the *Shastras*, as well as for organizing discussions and debates. The disappearance of zemindars as a social class has meant also a decline in the interest in Sanskrit learning. The lavish ceremonials attending usual Hindu social and religious rites like marriage, initiation with sacred thread, or obsequies are on the decline. Therefore, Sanskrit studies for their own sake have languished. The few schools which have survived cater to the needs of teachers of Sanskrit in schools and colleges. A new Government-sponsored central organization has also arisen, namely, the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, which distributes grants to surviving Sanskrit schools within the locality and elsewhere. As an accessory to Sanskrit schools, there were also the Haribhakti Sabhas. The main function of the latter was to organize discussion on Vaishnava theology and the life of Krishna. In our neighbourhood such meetings were held in the house of Radhamadhab Goswami, known as the Baghbazar Athchala. It was here that Pundit Shyamlal Goswami with the leadership of Vaishnavacharya Sri Goursundar Bhagabatbhusan translated into Bengali the Sri Sri Gita Govind. Later, this institution was renamed the Baghbazar Half-Akhra, as its main function was to arrange competition between two sets of singers, one resident of the locality, and the other of Jorasanko. Sometimes local open-air theatres, known as *yatra*, were also organized. Today the institution has disappeared through shift of interest.

The Changing Physical Pattern

An analysis of the actual physical condition of the locality reveals a few important changes. From a map of the late 18th century, we find that a few old houses dominated the scene and formed the core of a well-developed residential area. The framework of streets had already evolved by this time. This continued until faster means of transport made a change necessary. The social custom of families

of remaining together for several generations, and the practice adding new buildings within the central courtyard, naturally did not take into account the progressive congestion of streets consequent upon increase of population. In Rajballabhpura, which is the main quarter around the nucleus of the old family homes of Gokul Mitra, Bishnuram Chakravarty, Lakshmi Narayan Datta and Dewan Ram Ram Kar, these small lanes still exist. But we find considerable change in those sections where the Calcutta Improvement Trust has slashed open new and wide thoroughfares by pulling down old houses and wiping off bustees. A comparison of the number and character of holdings from Assessment Records and the accompanying maps brings to light the following features.

TABLE 1
Character of built-up area in 1911 and 1961

Year	Total Premises	Kutcha	1-Storey	2-Storey	3-Storey	4-Storey	5-Storey	6-Storey	Unbuilt Premise	Tenanted	Occupied by Owner
1911	522	26	125	316	51				98	191	327
1961	947	57	77	437	256	42	10	5	48	523	432

TABLE 2
Character of built-up area in the old section in 1911 and 1961

Year	Total Premises	Kutcha	1-Storey	2-Storey	3-storey	4-Storey	5-Storey	6-Storey	Unbuilt Premise	Tenanted	Occupied by Owner
1911	522	26	125	316	51				98	191	327
1961	757	53	57	403	193	16			24	430	336

TABLE 3
The built-up area in the re-developed section in 1961

Total	Kutcha	1-Storey	2-Storey	3-Storey	4-Storey	5-Storey	6-Storey	Unbuilt Premise	Tenanted	Occupied by Owner
190	4	20	34	63	26	10	5	24	93	96

(1) The increase in the total number of tenanted premises and the decrease in the number of vacant premises, indicate an overall increase in the residential population, which is possibly by immigration. This can be verified by an examination of the birth-place and length of residence of each individual; an investigation which has however not been carried out.

(2) The increase in the total number of premises in the older section is indicative of a greater fragmentation of large premises, which indicates the break-up of joint-family homes into smaller units.

(3) The invasion of a new architectural form in vertical expansion on the new roads is dependent on two operative factors: (a) the rise in land-values and therefore the trend towards higher structures; (b) the response to a new requirement of the single-family dwelling or the small flat within a large mansion, is shown in the increased proportion of tenancies in the new area compared to the old.

Besides these major points there is another trend that is slowly creeping into the district. This is the slow infiltration of the new commercial magnate class, generally non-Bengali, now interested in investment in land and buildings within a once purely Bengali residential locality. There are seven such cases in the re-developed area.

The New Trends

The break-up of old institutions and the appearance of new ones is further revealed by a survey of the formal functions of present-day community organizations.

Schools

The Shambazar Anglo-Vernacular High School was established in 1855 through the joint efforts of a few influential members of the community, mainly belonging to the aristocratic families. The school flourished and several old students returned to help with funds and service. The premises of today were purchased by means of voluntary donations alone. Later on, the Government came forward

with substantial grants when further extension was made. One hundred years of usefulness has given the school a reputation, so that students come from far beyond this particular ward. Roughly, 55% of the student-population comes from beyond Ward 8.

By comparison, however, the only girls' school is not the result of co-operative voluntary effort of the neighbourhood. The founder, who is also the headmaster, started the Anurupa Balika Vidyalaya in 1936 with 15 girls from the locality. Now, after 26 years, it has been affiliated as a middle school, with a total strength of about 400. It is interesting to note that the attendance from Ward 8 in the primary section is roughly 75%, while in the middle school it is about 55%.

The other educational institutions are primary schools, one of which is a Corporation Free Primary School. Two are Hindi-medium schools located in the Lalbagan bustee. Part of the population in the ward is non-Bengali, and most of it resides in this bustee. Besides, in the territory along the river front to the west, and to the north, outside our area, there are a few jute presses where non-Bengalis are also in employ. The needs of this population are met by these two schools. The older of the two, established 30 years ago, has been receiving a Corporation grant since 1947. The student strength of this school is 90. The second school is a new one established in 1959, with an enrolment of 60.

Social Service Organizations

Among such institutions, the influence of the new order is evident. We find that the traditional social activity has been replaced by forms of a semi-voluntary, secular and temporary character.

The Palli Mangal Samity was established in Rajballabhpara through the efforts of some residents of the locality in 1927. Its aims were to help the poor within the area, to render assistance to needy students with free books and tuition, and also to organize health education by conducting callisthenics. The achievements of the organization can be gathered from a survey of one representative year's activity. The collections

made in that year were from 200 families residing within 16 streets in the immediate vicinity. Collections totalled 49 maunds of rice and Rs. 125 in cash. In the same year, there were 31 applications for help, and after due investigation, only 22 were given aid. The work was run by a committee. Accounts were carefully kept and audited at the end of every year. Actually, the running of the Samity was in the hands of a few enthusiasts. Unhappily, the institution came to an end about 4/5 years ago, due to a gradual decline in active co-operation from members of the community. The few who originally ran the Samity either died or became too old for active work, and there was no replacement from the younger generation.

The Kambuliatala Daridra Bhandar was initiated in 1929 by residents of the then Ward 1 (which has now been split up into Wards 7, 8 and 9). In contrast to the foregoing Samity, this association has a regular subscribing membership, with a minimum payment of 25 n. P. per month, the average collection per month amounting to about Rs. 90. Thirty-five members form the committee of management. They include the Councillors of Wards 7, 8 and 9 and a President who is a prominent figure in political circles. The object of the institution is to distribute monthly alms among the needy and to give free treatment and medicine during epidemics. The sphere of influence lies within the confines of the 3 wards. It is interesting to note that an application for a grant of Rs. 500 annually, made to the Calcutta Corporation, has been granted.

An entirely different design is met with in the social service organization of the Paschim Banga Samaj Seva Samity. This association was initiated by the present Union Law Minister in 1956, and has representative units in the four sections of the city, under which there are smaller groups in the different wards. Among various services rendered are domiciliary treatment of tubercular patients and others, and the distribution of free milk powder. The generosity of the public at large and organizations like the Indian Red Cross Society, W. Alton Jones Foundation Inc. and others belonging to India

and abroad have made it possible for the Samity to give the aid described above.

Clubs

Coming to an entirely different field, we shall now consider one by one the activities of clubs situated within the ward.

The Baghbazar Reading Library was organized by a few young men of Rajballabhpara, who were fired by the desire of awakening political consciousness among the general public. The library was inaugurated in 1883 in a small rented room with 33 daily and monthly papers, which were donated. Local participation grew to such a proportion that the demand for space was met by the construction of its own premises. Several wealthy residents of the neighbourhood made it possible for the Library to purchase land in 1898. The building started in 1900. The new site and building were allotted by the Calcutta Improvement Trust when the old building was demolished. Today the library contains nearly 37,000 volumes, while its activities include cultural discussions, talks, elocution contests and educational film shows. The field of the library's influence can be gauged from an analysis of the list of members. There are 625 members, 60% of whom come from Ward 8 and the rest from 6, 7, and 9. A managing committee of 25 members includes the local Corporation Councillor, a few prominent political figures, besides the more influential members of the locality.

The Rajballabhpara Bayam Samity was originally the only club in the locality. It was started about 45/50 years ago mainly as a physical culture club. An emergency created by the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1926 really gave the club a permanent place in the life of the community. Besides physical culture, the Samity's main function is social welfare, like voluntary nursing in times of sickness in any home, or assistance in cremation. As a matter of fact, in any domestic or social crisis, this club has always stepped in to meet the responsibility. The organization is run by a section of the population that deals in the milk trade ; and active support is obtained from similarly employed members of the community outside the

immediate neighbourhood. However, some of the members of the committee are not truly participants but, being prominent members of society, their patronage gives the club a certain importance.

The Baghbazar Gymnasium was initiated in 1910 by a small band of enthusiasts in a rented room in Kashi Mitra Ghat Street. In 1945, the present site was purchased from the Calcutta Improvement Trust on the basis of a long-term loan. The loan has been redeemed to the extent of Rs. 48,972 (with an interest of Rs. 18,225), but an outstanding amount still remains to be paid to the extent of Rs. 28,572. By virtue of the fact that the gymnasium has initiated a weight-lifting competition for the last 38 years, where participants come from all over India, Burma and Ceylon, the reputation and area of influence of the club has spread far afield. There is an exercise class run by a professionally trained physical instructor, and the membership to this section entails a fee of 50 n. P. per month. 47% of the members belong to Ward 8. Another kind of membership is given to those who have donated to the Land and Building Fund, i.e. towards the repayment of the loan. 24% of the contributors belong to Ward 8, but their total donation amounts to Rs. 8,323 in all. Among the committee members there are a few active participants from the locality, while the rest are members of clubs not limited to this neighbourhood. A few of the committee members have been given place because of their position alone.

The Yuva Sangha is an affiliated organ of the World Youth Federation and was established in the combined wards of 6, 7 and 8. Similar units are found in other localities of the city, membership being confined mainly to the younger age-group. The main activity is in the participation in the Youth Festival competitions at the Ranji Stadium and elsewhere, from which successful contestants are selected for participating in the World Youth Festival at Helsinki. The organization has a temporary character, springing into activity during the main Youth Festival periods. The club is housed now here now there, wherever room is available.

Perhaps the most remarkable form of clubbing is evident in the temporary clubs that run the various Sarvajanin-puja activities. Formerly these pujas were festivities organized by private families, or by particular castes. But now more interest is taken by the youth in its organization. There are 2 Durga-pujas, 16 Kali-pujas and 18 Saraswati-pujas within this ward. Of these, only the Durga-pujas and 3 of the Kali-pujas are at least of 25 years' standing. The rest are mainly celebrations that have developed within the last 5/6 years.

Conclusion

Summing up the total findings, we arrive at a number of important conclusions. We find that the one-time joint-family is being replaced by the single-family unit.

The leadership pattern of the locality also seems to have changed. We have seen that old and wealthy families dominated the social scene previously. The replacement today has taken place in two directions ; one in the recruitment of leaders from among the new rich who do not belong to the landed aristocracy, and leaders who are so because of their political influence either in the Legislature or the Municipality. The influence of the political party is evident if we look a little more deeply into the internal management of some of the organizations listed above.

In the discussion of different institutions we have noticed, that in each case, there is a different sphere of influence, which does not limit itself to the geographical boundaries of the ward. But when a central organization implants a sectional unit within the area, its activities are guided by forces which are not indigenous to the neighbourhood.

The only occasion when there is spontaneous parochial patriotism, is again during another imposed condition, that of the municipal or political election, when the para or the neighbourhood functions for a while as a well-integrated social unit.

The charitable institutions of old also served to bring about a feeling of local solidarity, as those who could afford, felt responsible for the welfare of the poor in the neighbourhood, provided there was some organization to marshall their aid in the proper manner. But even that opportunity has progressively become enfeebled, because institutions like the Palli Mangal Samity are being pushed aside by new ones like the Paschim Banga Samaj Seva Samity.

ERRATA

- P. 181, line 23. *For 'Rajballabh' read 'Nabakrishna',*
P. 181, line 26. *For 'Nabakrishna' read 'Rajballabh'.*

A NOTE ON RABBARI CASTE PANCHAYAT

BAIDYANATH SARASWATI

(Received on 27 April 1962)

THE Rabbaris are a pastoral caste, concentrated mostly in the western part of Gujarat. In the past, they used to wander with their cattle, sometimes in search of pasture and sometimes for trade. Their scattered settlements called *ne sh* are, even to this day, found in the jungles of Saurashtra. They live in mud huts with circular ground-plan called *ku b b h a*. Most Rabbaris who now live in peasant villages have not changed their domestic architecture. Thus, in many villages of Saurashtra, one comes across these curious kubbhas built by the side of peasant houses with rectangular ground-plan.

Rabbaris deal in milk and milk products like ghee and butter. Though, for this trade, they have always been in contact with urban and peasant folk, very little change has taken place in their way of living. They are easily distinguished from their peasant neighbours by dress, ornament and other material belongings. They are organized into various exogamous units and are governed by caste rules.

Here we shall discuss in brief the religious and secular organization of the Sorathia and the Bardaie Rabbaris.

Religious Organization

The caste deity of the Rabbaris is Momaie Mata, a female deity. Momaie Mata is worshipped in every Rabbari home on various ceremonial and ritual occasions. The temple of Momaie Mata is called *m u d h*. Mudh is usually a simple hut with rectangular ground-plan. A spire-like structure of wood is kept in the central room of the house. Momaie Mata is believed to have a thousand hands and, therefore, is repre-

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sented in the temple with thousand cowrie shells arranged vertically on the wooden frame. Five bundles of peacock feathers, called *d h w a j a* or flag, are kept in the temple. These flags are worshipped by devotees. Several silver cups called *c h a t r a* are hung on the temple. These silver cups are offered to the deity by devotees. Cowrie shells and *d a m a r u* (Shiva's drum) are also placed in one corner of the temple. The most significant thing in the temple is the sacred lamp, *a k h a n d d e e p*, which is kept lighted permanently.

Coco-nuts, sweets, vermilion, rice, incense and flowers are offered to the deity. No animal is sacrificed because the Rabbaris are strictly vegetarian. Momaie Mata is believed to be the supreme power whose blessing brings health, wealth and happiness. Her wrath can destroy the whole Rabbari community in the twinkling of an eye. The priest is known as *B h o o w a*. His post is hereditary.* He is treated as a holy man, possessed by the *s h a k t i* (power) of Momaie Mata. He knows the language of Momaie Mata, called *c h a n d*, and can propitiate the deity in her own language. Chand is unintelligible to others. It is a sacred and secret language which none but the Bhoowa can pronounce. It cannot be pronounced at all times. The Bhoowa articulates the sound only when he is possessed by the deity. No clear word is discernible in the chand. To me, it appeared only as a jumble of sounds like the whistling of the wind or a storm in an ocean. Whether this ritual language bears any meaning is not known even to the Bhoowa. This secret language is transmitted from generation to generation.

* Among the Charans of Saurashtra, the selection of Bhoowa is different. The people assemble near some *k h a m b h i* (memorial stone of a suttee) and the drummer beats his drum. The memorial stone of suttee, is smeared with vermilion, and coco-nuts and sweets are offered. *P r a s a d* is kept in an earthen plate. The assembled persons wait silently upon the suttee's selection of the Bhoowa. The person selected by the suttee falls into a trance and swings violently with the beat of the drum. He is not to be treated as finally selected unless he takes up the *prasad* in his hand. For this selection, the congregation sometime waits for days together and does not leave the place till the suttee has selected the Bhoowa.

The position of the Bhoowa in Rabbari society is very high. He is the intermediary through whom Momaie Mata can be approached. Though the Bhoowa is not vested with secular powers, he is consulted on all serious problems which concern the whole community. A Bhoowa is expected to remain 'pure and undefiled'. Should he commit any sexual act, he is turned out forthwith from the mudh or temple.

For petty offences the fine imposed upon a mudh-Bhoowa is usually half. The post of the Bhoowa cannot remain vacant for even a short time. Should the Bhoowa die, his successor will rush into the temple for the service of the deity. The new Bhoowa is ceremonially admitted into the temple before the corpse of the deceased is taken out for burial. The Bhoowa is not cremated like common Rabbaris. He is buried in front of the mudh.

Secular Organization

The secular head of the Rabbaris is called Patel. Manda Bhaie Poonja Bhaie Mori is the Patel of 10,000 families of Rabbaris living around Barda Hills and the whole of Sorath District. The post of Patel, like that of Bhoowa, is hereditary. The Patel is the chief of the community and is vested with supreme power. But his position in the panchayat is peculiar. He is seldom able to exercise his power directly. He is informed of disputes and offences that occur in the village. On receiving information, he deposes five members of the community for investigation. These five also have the power to decide the case and impose fines. Their decision is regarded as final. While holding the trial, the latter are addressed as *N a n h u n P a t e l* (Junior Patel).

The meeting which the five deputies of the Patel hold for investigation of the case is called *G n a t i P a n c h a y a t*. The Gnati Panchayat has the power to deal with all cases except murder and suicide. The latter are reported to the Police. Sexual offences, domestic quarrels, theft and breach of faith are within the purview of the panchayat. Such offences are not reported to the Police. The panchayat's judgment

is final, and persons not abiding by the decision are excommunicated.

Monday, Tuesday and Friday are the only three auspicious days in the week when cases can be taken up for disposal. The trial is held in the offender's village under a tree. Witnesses are summoned. The accused is also present in person. Before submitting statements, the plaintiff, defendant and witnesses take an oath in the name of Momaie Mata. After examining the witnesses, the Junior Patels confer among themselves and the judgment is announced after an agreement has been reached. Should there be disagreement on the amount of fine, a decision can be taken by lottery, such as tossing a coin or by picking up twigs (s a n t h i) or a piece of paper (p a n a) by an eight-year old child.

Punishment inflicted upon the culprit is generally a fine which varies according to the nature of the crime. Sexual offences are severely dealt with, and the fine may rise to Rs. 500. For kidnapping an unmarried girl, the offender has to pay Rs. 75 to the panchayat, and is then forced to marry the girl, provided the girl comes within his marriageable range. Elopement is punished by a fine of Rs. 22. Kidnapping a married woman is a most serious crime and the offender has to pay Rs. 500. For petty theft, the offender pays $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers to $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers of ghee to the mudh, which is utilized for the permanent lamp. Cases of adultery, incest and rape are settled privately and are not generally brought before the panchayat. The offender dare not disobey the pauchayat's order, and if he does so he is excommunicated. Excommunication, known as n a t b a r, can be ordered only by the Patel. The Junior Patels bring the matter to the notice of the Patel and obtain his order for excommunication.

Money collected through fine is utilized in a feast in which all, including the Patel, participate. Sometimes such money is utilized in the temple of Momaie Mata.

Culprits are never pardoned. Some offences require purification. Should any one touch a Harijan (Untouchable), he has to purify himself by drinking cow's urine and ashes. Water

sanctified by contact with silver or gold in the temple of Momaie Mata is sprinkled by the Bhoowa on the body of the culprit, and only then is he regarded as purified.

A unique method of detecting the culprit is to ask the suspect to go to the mudh. On reaching the temple he is received by the Bhoowa. The Bhoowa closes the door of the mudh and says to him : 'If thou art true, go and open the door of the mudh.' It is believed that if a culprit opens the door of the temple he meets with instantaneous death and the innocent escapes unscathed. A guilty man dare not open the door of the mudh.

The nature of the offence and the fines imposed upon the offender are never made known to people other than Rabbaris. Such information is held to be strictly secret.

A New Trend

A new trend has appeared in the secular organization of the Rabbaris. The function of the caste panchayat was formerly to look into disputes and offences committed in the caste. During the last five years, the caste panchayat has undergone a remarkable change. As will be evident from the appendix, resolutions on certain reforms in the marriage regulations have been recently passed by the panchayat. Women's emancipation and education of children have become the concern of the panchayat and necessary resolutions have been unanimously passed to this effect.

But in this enthusiasm for social reform or progress, the traditional leaders are losing their influence and hereditary leadership is almost dying. Educated and wealthy persons are taking away leadership from the hands of the former. Some of the influential members are now addressed as Patel, even though they do not hold the position. The Rabbari panchayat which held its meeting at Ordar is an evidence in point. The traditional leader, Sri Manda Bhaie Poonja Bhaie Mori, was invited to the meeting, but his words, as reported to me by informants, did not seem to carry much weight. The Ordar panchayat has been reconstituted by a few young educated

Rabbaris. During the last seventeen years of his tenure as chief of 10,000 families of Rabbaris, Sri Manda Bhaie Poonja Bhaie Mori has ordered the Gnati Panchayat to hold its session only on seven occasions. Do the people commit no crime ; and if so, where do they go ? It is very doubtful if the people have any faith left in their traditional leader. It appears to me, the people have now begun to realize that the caste panchayat can no more enforce their decisions under modern administrative conditions prevailing in the country.

APPENDIX

9. 6. 1958

Caste Constituion of the Bardaie
and the Sorathia Rabbaris as
framed on Monday, Sambat 2014,
the 9th of June 1958

Name of the persons who framed the Constitution :

Bhoowa Sri Rama Keesa of Ordar ; Sri Ala Kana of
Mokhana ; Jewa Rama of Pastar ; Patel Dewayat
Jetha Rabbari, Sri Kala Raja Chawra, Rana of
Khirsara ; Rabbari Jetha Mapa of Porbandar.

Hail to the Matajee
Sorathia—Bardaie Rabbaris
Caste Constitution
1958, Sambat 2014

9. 6. 1958

Monday

Place : Ordar

As fixed previously, we the Sorathia and Bardaie Rabbaris assembled this day in the mudh of Matajee in village Ordar and unanimously passed the following resolutions :

1. **Shagaie** (Betrothal) :—At the time of the betrothal ceremony the boy's father shall give Rs. 26 to the girl's father ; and out of that 26 rupees the girl's father shall have to deposit one and half rupees in the account of the caste panchayat.
2. **Hardo** (Presentation) :—Boy's father shall have to give $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of gur (jaggery), $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of k h a r i k (palm fruit), 4 coco-nuts and eight annas in cash to the girl's

father. If these presents are not made before the marriage ceremony, Rs. 2½ must be given at the time of the L a g n a ceremony.

3. **Dagina (Ornaments) :—**Boy's father shall have to give fourteen annas weight of golden n a t h (nose-ring) and eight annas weight of golden e t a r a m i (an ornament worn by married woman) to the girl. If these ornaments are lost, the boy's father shall have to replace them. But if the girl's father swindles these ornaments he shall have to return the ornaments to the girl. But, it will be the duty of the boy's father to prove that the girl's father has really embezzled the ornaments.
4. **Shamurtun (Ceremonial confirmation of betrothal) :—**The father shall have to bring one c h u n a r i, 1½ pali (approx. 5 seers) of rice, 2 coco-nuts and eight annas in cash to the girl at the time of Shamurtun.
5. **Lagna Prasang (Marriage ceremony) :—**The girl's father shall have to give his daughter in marriage when she attains the age of sixteen (as per Law of the Government of India). At the time of marriage, 40 B a r a t i s (marriage processionists) are allowed, but if the boy's father wishes to bring more than 40 baratis he can do so, but he shall have to pay Rs. 2 in cash for every additional person to the father of the girl; and if the boy's father does not pay the required amount to the girl's father the caste panchayat shall compel him to do so.

The girl's father shall make the proposal to the boy's father, only when the girl reaches the marriageable age, according to the above-mentioned law. The date for marriage fixed by the girl's father shall have to be accepted by the boy's father. But, if under certain unavoidable circumstances, the boy's father is not able to accept the date, the caste panchayat shall look into the matter and, if found reasonable, the date may be extended by another year

at the outside. At the time of marriage, the boy's father shall have to give Rs. 60 to the girl's father.

6. **Soran** (Presentation to POTTERS and COBBLERS) :—The boy's father shall have to give Rs. 7 to the girl's father for presentation to the POTTER and the COBBLER ; in addition, he shall have to give coco-nuts and betel nuts too. During the Lagna ceremony, the boy's father shall pay Rs. 30 to the girl's father for *M a n d w a* ; but the girl's father cannot refuse to send the girl for failure to pay this small amount.
7. **Kapra** (Clothes) :—The girl's father shall have to give 13 pieces of cloth to the girl. The girl's father shall have to agree that the clothes for Sheeri (deity of small-pox) and Ori (deity of chicken-pox) are included in these 13 pieces.
8. **Anna** (Visit) :—The girl's father shall have to finish all the *a n n a s* (formal visits) of the girl within two years of time ; and the boy's father shall also be prepared for the annas. If there is any dispute on this issue, the caste panchayat shall interfere in the matter.

First Anna—After marriage, the girl's father shall have to send the girl to the boy's house for 3 days, and after three days when he sends his people to bring back the girl, he cannot send more than five persons for this.

Second Anna—The boy's father shall go to the girl's father to ascertain the date of the second anna. The girl's father can send the girl for five days in the second anna. But before asking for the anna, the boy's father shall have to pay Rs. 38 to the girl's father and only then can ask for the anna. Thirty persons are allowed with the boy's father to be with him during his visit to the girl's father for fixing the date of the second anna. If the boy's father wishes to bring more than 30 persons with him he shall have to pay 2 rupees extra per person. In case of

refusal, the caste panchayat shall force him to pay the required amount. After this visit, when the boy's father comes to take the bride home in the second anna, he cannot bring more than 5 persons with him.

Third Anna—The girl's father shall have to bear the expenses incurred in the third anna.

Fourth Anna—Fourth anna can be sought whenever the boy's father wishes to bring the girl home on some ceremonial or ritual occasion.

9. **Nibed (Offerings)** :—Girl's father can get 3 days' meals from the boy's father.
10. **Derbatto (Junior)** :—After betrothal or marriage, if the girl's husband dies, the deceased's own younger brother shall have the right to marry the girl; and the girl's father shall have to agree to it. But if the younger brother is immature or unfit for marriage, the deceased boy's father shall have to inform the panchayat about this and no other brother's right over the girl can be allowed.
11. **Lakhat (Affidavit)** :—According to the rules stated above, if the girl is married to her deceased husband's younger brother, the boy's father shall have to get a written confirmation from the girl's father after paying him Rs. 67. Such formalities are required only when the boy dies after marriage. If the boy dies before marriage, but after betrothal, and the dead man's younger brother wishes to marry the girl, the boy's father shall have to get a written confirmation from the girl's father after paying him only 18 rupees; because under the circumstances mentioned above, the question of Derbatto does not arise, for the girl was then unmarried. Should there be a breach of this rule, the caste panchayat shall take action and call for an explanation from both parties.
12. **Ghar-Dharna** :—Should the girl be divorced (C h o o t a - C h o r a) the boy's father shall have to give Rs. 134 as B y o r a M a t h a (double charge) to the girl's father,

and if remarriage is sought, the first agreement shall be torn at that time.

13. **Jeth Satto** (Senior levirate) :—This is no custom in our caste, but on the occurrence of such an incident the caste panchayat shall deal with it.
14. **Saveloo** (Kidnapping) :—Kidnapping is not found in Rabbari society ; but if it occurs, the caste panchayat shall strictly deal with the culprit and his kin.
15. **Bahoo-Beti ka Hakka** (Rights of the daughter) :—If the girl has a child and becomes widowed while living in her husband's home, she will inherit her husband's property if she continues to live there. But if she leaves the child there and goes away, she will lose such right.
16. **Sukh-Dukh** :—If a quarrel between a couple is not settled privately, the matter shall be referred to the caste panchayat and the decision of the caste panchayat shall be binding on both parties.
17. **Dikri-ne-kamie** :—Many people, intentionally or unintentionally, utilize the services of their daughter. And these girls work strenuously throughout the day and night. The caste panchayat takes strong exception to this and hereby frames the following regulation :—

A girl shall not be employed as a truck labourer or a factory worker. She may be employed as a domestic servant. But in case the caste panchayat has reasons to suspect otherwise, it can call for an explanation, If guilt is proved, the offender will be treated as an offender against Matajee.

NOTICE

1. All persons assembled here are requested to send their children to school. They should also request their neighbours to do so.
2. Caste brethren are requested to free themselves from all evil habits which are forbidden by religion.

3. Caste brethren assembled here shall inform those who are absent about the new regulations

These regulations have been unanimously passed by those assembled here and they have put their signature on the original document.

Writer—Ka. Ra. Ieta

Caste Patel—

Manda Poonja

Ala Kana

Dewa Jetha

Rama Kheema

and all the gentlemen who were present here.
Signature—

Patel Ala Kana	—	Mokhana
„ Manda Poonja	—	„
„ Dewa Jetha	—	Bodh
Gameti Rabbari Karna Basta	—	Pastar
„ „ Jeewa Rama	—	„
„ „ Lakhmni Heera	—	„
Patel Rama Kheema	—	Pachatardeeh
„ Debatmesoor	—	Bodh gam
„ Mopakara	—	Khara bera
„ Naran Natho	—	„
„ Awra Rama	—	„
„ Jetha Kana	—	Adityana
„ Raja Karsan	—	„

(Names of 83 signatories were also recorded on the original document.)

NOTES ON A METHOD OF STUDYING RURAL SOCIETY*

KUMARANANDA CHATTOPADHYAY

SURAJ BANDYOPADHYAY

(*Received on 14 May 1962*)

THE study of rural society has become an important concern of social scientists. But their approaches are frequently different. Some have studied single villages, while others have advocated the study of village communities, either for insight into the different characteristics of the community or for testing one or other hypothesis built up from *a priori* knowledge of the society concerned. The main theme of the present paper is to find out how an overall picture of a rural society can be obtained economically and correctly.

In order to acquire such knowledge, we generally follow three methods: (i) census method, (ii) purposeful selection method, and (iii) random sampling method. This particular paper should be treated as supplementary to the third of the above methods. We shall try to regard a number of villages in a homogeneous group if they have certain common social characters, like same religion, similar caste-composition, or economic affiliation, etc., and after such classification into types, shall try to study each type through economic sampling.

There may exist in a particular society some other villages which are heterogeneous in character with respect to the attributes chosen. Therefore, in order to get a reliable general picture of the society as a whole, we must study some of those villages also. So that, by comparing the characteristics of

* Summary of a paper read at the Section of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Indian Science Congress, Cuttack, 4th January, 1962. The authors are attached to the Sociological Research Unit of The Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta. Their private addresses are 8 Dixon Lane, Calcutta-14 and 29 Parkside Road, Calcutta-26 respectively.

these two types of villages, we should be able to construct not only the normal picture, but also the degree of variability of the society in question. We think that this method of study, which is analogous to stratified sampling design, will help us in reducing our expenditure (whether in terms of energy, time or money) considerably in comparison with the simple random sampling method. Now let us explain what we mean with the help of a hypothetical case.

Suppose we want to get the general picture of a particular society living in 1,000 villages. Let us assume that we are expected to study 50 villages by the random sampling method. Following our method, we propose to study even a smaller number of villages out of that 50 by first classifying them into two groups as homogeneous or heterogeneous. Suppose we get 25 villages in each section. Then, from each of these 25 villages, we will select, say, 5 villages. From a thorough and comparative study of these 10 homogeneous and heterogeneous villages and their comparison, we will be able to gather a general picture of the society as a whole. The validity of this method has been demonstrated by us in a separate communication (Bandyopadhyay & Chattopadhyay, 1960).

Now, one thing of great importance is the criterion or criteria of determining homogeneity. This will depend on the choice of problem(s) that the scientist wishes to investigate or explore. For example, suppose one person wishes to study and compare the religious solidarity of Hindu and Muslim communities. Then, he should first classify all villages into Hindu and Muslim. Now, following our method he shall select a few villages from each group, and after studying them, he can hope to get a general picture of the two religious groups of the same region. Further, if any one feels interested, he may also study the inter-village variation of religious practices within a particular religious group, to note the degree of its variability.

The source of this paper is an analysis of a very minor part of an actual or mother-survey that the Sociological Research Unit of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, is now conducting around the town of Giridih in the Hazaribagh

District in Bihar. All the villages falling within a radius of 20 miles of Giridih town have been covered in the survey. The content and analysis of the present paper is, however, restricted to 439 villages, occupied by 26,173 households, having a population of 1,44,951 and falling within a radius of 10 miles of Giridih.

A village in this paper has been treated as homogeneous in five different ways by using several social and economic criteria :

(i) Single-community villages, i.e. all the households inhabiting a village belong to one and only one community, either Hindu, Muslim or Tribal, etc.

(ii) Single caste-category village, i.e. villages having castes of only one category, namely, 'high' or 'middle' or 'low'.

(iii) The industrial affiliation of gainfully employed persons in a village being either to only agriculture or to any other industry except agriculture, such as mica, coal, etc.

(iv) The occupational pursuits of these persons being either manual work or non-manual work only.

(v) And the spatial mobility of such labour force, i.e. whether the employed persons work in their residential villages only, rural areas only, or in the town only.

Homogeneous villages as defined above have then been identified and investigated with respect to three physical attributes. They are :

(i) The walking distance of a village from Giridih town, which might give us some idea of the role, if any, of urbanization vis-a-vis the distribution of such villages.

(ii) The walking distance of a village from its nearest bus-route which might indicate the impact, if any, of transport and communication facilities upon the distribution of such villages.

(iii) The village size as determined by the total number of households which might indicate the so-called role of the 'small' villages or 'large' villages in this respect. The distribution of villages as determined by the above-mentioned criteria, as well as their analyses have been presented in several tables. After examining all the facts from the tables

it seems that 'village size' and its 'distance' from a town play a definite part in determining the homogeneity of the rural community. In the light of this statement the following important findings are to be noted.

(a) 'Small-sized' villages are proportionately more of the single-community type, generally situated at a 'greater distance' from the town.

(b) These single-community villages of 'small size' have more concentration of non-Hindu groups. One interesting point to be noted here is that Hindu villages of this size, however, are proportionately more of the 'single-caste category'.

(c) These villages are more of the 'mono-industrial' type and occupationally homogeneous, having 'non-manual' type of occupations mainly.

Regarding the role of 'distance' on rural society and its homogeneous nature, we note the following features.

(a) Hindu villages are comparatively more clustered near the town.

(b) The near-about villages belong more to the 'multi-caste category', while the 'single-caste category' is situated far away from the town. These facts seem to throw some light on the effect of urbanization on caste structure in rural society.

(c) The 'multi-industrial' villages, as expected, are clustered near the town. And as mentioned above, the 'place of work' of the gainfully employed persons may have a direct or positive association with the 'distance' of the village from the town.

In short, our study indicates that if we want to isolate and study homogeneous villages, then, in general, we should select 'small-sized' villages situated at a comparatively greater distance from an urban centre. On the other hand, to locate and study heterogeneous villages, we should select 'large-sized' villages near urban centres. And if we want to study rural society as a whole, then we should depend on a study of both homogeneous and heterogeneous villages.

Incidentally, a point to be noted here is that the study of homogeneous villages only may also have some use. Because

such villages may be useful in studying and comparing the village's solidarity, intra- and inter-group integration within a particular socio-economic structure. It will also be helpful in studying as well as measuring the actual role and order of urbanization in any rural area. In villages having similar social environment, the spread and impact of urbanization may be measured in a comparatively standardized and effective manner.

Now, one thing should be remembered in this connection. This study is restricted to a particular area. No rigorous conclusion should be drawn until the method is tested and found useful in other regions also. And through this paper we earnestly hope that social scientists working elsewhere will apply the method in their surveys, for their criticism will help us in modifying the method in future.

REFERENCE

- Bandyopadhyay, Suraj and Kumarananda Chattopadhyay : *A Note on the Use of Social Factors for Stratification in Social Surveys*. (Read in the Fifth All-India Sociological Conference, Lucknow, 1960).

TABLE 1

Village category	Religious composition of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from			Nearest bus-route		Village size (total number of households)
			Giridih town	0-5	6+	0-5	6+	
1. Single community village (C)	(1)	(3)						
				0-5	6+	0-5	6+	1-25
				(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				25	118	69	69	71
	.1 Only Hindu (H)	138						26+
	(2)	(3)						(9)
								67
	.2 Only Muslim (M)	11		0	11	2	9	8
	(3)	(4)						3
	.3 Only Tribal (T)	45		2	43	19	26	29
	(4)	(5)						16
	.1+2+3	194		27	167	90	104	108
	(6)	(7)						86
	2. Mixed community village (C')	245		67	178	133	112	61
	(8)	(9)						184
	HM/HT/MT/HMT with/without any other community							
	(C')							
	All categories combined	439		94	345	223	216	169
	(10)	(11)						270

TABLE 2

Religious composition of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from				Nearest bus-route		Village size (total number of households)
		Giridih town						
		0-5	6+	0-5	6+	0-5	6+	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
1. Hindu only	138	25	113	69	69	71	67	26+
2. Any one religion other than Hinduism	56	2	54	21	35	37	19	
Total	194	27	167	90	104	108	86	

TABLE 3

Village category	Caste composition of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from		Nearest bus-route		Village size (total number of households)
			Giridih town	0-5	6+	0+5	6+
1. Single-caste village (T)	(1)	(3)					
	.1 Only Hindu 'high' caste (H ₁)	7		0	7	0	7
				(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				0-5	6+	0+5	6+
							1-25
							(8)
							(9)
							26+
							0
							7
							17
							7
							1
							8
							59
							67
							71
							69
							33
							38
							33
							28
							41
							56
							69
							113
							25
							138
							67
							69
							71
							69
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							38
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TABLE 4

Village category	Industry-composition of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from			Nearest bus-route		Village size (total number of households)	
			Giridih town	0-5	6+	0-5	6+	1-25	26+
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(6)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Mono-industry village (I)	.1 Only agriculture (A)	31	1	30	11	20		29	2
	.2 Any industry other than agriculture (A')	8	4	4	6	2		6	2
			5	34	17	22		35	4
			39						
2. Mixed industry village (I')	.1+.2	400	89	311	206	194		134	266
	AA'	439	94	345	223	216		169	273
All categories combined (I+I')									

TABLE 5

Village category	Occupational composition of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from			Nearest bus-route			Village size (total number of households)
			Giridih town						
			0-5	6+	0-5	6+	1-25	26+	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
1. Mono-occupation category village (O)	.1 Only non-manual occupation (M)	3	—	3	—	3	3	—	
	.2 Only manual occupation (M')	139	15	124	63	76	92	47	
	.1+.2	142	15	127	63	79	95	47	
2. Mixed occupation categories village (O')	MM'	297	79	218	160	137	74	223	
All categories combined (O+O')		439	94	345	223	216	169	270	

TABLE 6

Village category	'Place of work' com- position of a village	Total number of villages	Walking distance (in miles) of a village from		Nearest bus-route		Village size (total number of households)	
			Girdih town	6+	0-5	6+	1-25	26+
(1)	(2)	(3)	0-5	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Mono- 'place of work' village (L)	.1 Residential village (R) only	65	2	63	21	44	42	23
	.2 Town (T) only	1	1	—	1	—	1	—
	.1+2	66	3	63	22	44	43	23
2. Mixed 'Place of work' village (L')	.1 (T) with any other place	245	88	157	146	99	58	187
	.2 Rural area excluding (R)	128	3	125	55	73	68	60
	.1+2	373	91	282	201	172	126	247
All categories combined (L+L')		439	94	345	223	216	169	270

INFLATION OF THE NUMBER OF KAYASTHAS IN CHITTAGONG

J. M. DATTA

HARE KRISHNA SAHA

THE Hindus of Bengal have increased or decreased thus in the several regions between 1881 and 1931 :—

	Increase +, Decrease —, per centages				
	1881—91	1891—1901	1901—11	1911—21	1921—1931
Bengal	+ 5.0	+ 6.2	+3.9	—0.7	+ 6.7
West Bengal	+ 3.1	+ 7.1	+1.7	—5.2	+ 8.4
Central Bengal	+ 4.3	+ 5.9	+5.7	+2.3	+ 6.5
North Bengal	+ 3.2	+ 4.3	+2.9	—3.2	+ 5.6
East Bengal	+10.0	+ 6.8	+6.5	+4.6	+ 5.8
Chittagong Division	+16.6	+11.9	+8.9	+9.9	+10.2

The over-all and the average decennial increases during the fifty years 1881-1931 have been :—

	Per centage	Average decennial increase
Bengal	+22.9	+ 4.21
West Bengal	+15.4	+ 2.91
Central Bengal	+26.7	+ 4.85
North Bengal	+13.1	+ 2.49
East Bengal	+36.9	+ 6.79
Chittagong Division	+75.9	+11.96

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2. The recorded numbers of Brahmans and Kayasthas in Bengal have been :—

	Brahmans	Increase %	Kayasthas	Increase %
1881	10,80,384	...	10,58,615	...
1891	11,21,804	+ 3.88	10,67,147	+ 0.80
1901	11,66,919	+ 4.01	9,84,443	- 7.76
1911	12,53,838	+ 7.45	11,13,684	+ 13.13
1921	13,09,539	+ 4.46	12,97,736	+ 16.52
1931	14,47,691	+ 10.53	15,58,475	+ 20.86
Average decennial increase + 6.03				+ 8.43

3. The average decennial increase of Kayasthas is much greater than that of either Brahmans or of Hindus of Bengal taken as a whole. Why should it be so? In one decade there was de-growth; and since then their increase has been very large, rather phenomenal.

4. In the Chittagong Division Hindus have increased at a larger rate than elsewhere. This led us to examine the figures there.

The total population and that of the Hindus in the district of Chittagong have been :—

	Total Population	Increase %	Hindus	Increase %
1881	11,32,341	...	2,73,959	
1891	12,90,167	+ 13.9	3,02,286	+ 10.3
1901	13,53,250	+ 4.0	3,18,384	+ 5.3
1911	15,08,433	+ 11.5	3,47,141	+ 9.0
1921	16,11,422	+ 6.8	3,63,895	+ 4.8
1931	17,97,038	+ 11.5	3,92,352	+ 7.8
Over-all increase during 1881—1931		+ 58.7		+ 43.2

5. The Hindus here as elsewhere are growing at a slower rate than the general population which includes a very large proportion of Muhammadans. Kayasthas may be expected to increase at the same rate, or at a greater rate proportional to the rate of increase. But what do we find ?

The following figures have been taken from the B-volumes of the *District Gazetteer* of Chittagong.

	1911	1921	1931
Brahmans	23,850→	28,541→	32,060
Increase	+20.80%	+12.33%	
Kayasthas	88,410→	1,13,939→	1,84,735
Increase	+30.1%	+62.13%	
All other Hindus	2,34,881→	2,16,415→	1,75,557
Decrease	-13.8%	-19.0%	

6. Kayasthas may increase by immigration from outside, and the other castes taken together may decrease by emigration. Let us examine the figures for immigration and emigration of the district. The following figures are taken from the *Bengal Census Report*, 1921, p. 89.

	Chittagong		
	1901	1911	
Actual Population	13,53,520	15,08,433	16,11,422
Immigrants	11,339	18,701	18,721
Emigrants	1,08,037	90,627	1,17,897
Natural Population	14,47,948	15,89,359	17,10,598

No comparable figures are available for 1931

7. Even if we assume that all the immigrants into the district in 1921 were Kayasthas, they would increase from 88,410 to 99,131, and not to 1,13,939. We are of opinion that the number of Kayasthas have been inflated by the inclusion of non-Kayasthas as Kayasthas in the census returns. That this is so will appear from the Thana figures of Kayasthas. In Table 1, we have given the actual figures, and in Table 2 we have calculated the percentages of increase and decrease.

The number of thanas or Police Stations have increased by sub-dividing the older thanas; so we have added the figures for two or three new Police Stations in Table 1 to make them comparable with the older thanas. The increase in some cases is over 94 per cent.

8. The number of persons born in Bengal found in Chittagong are :—

	Per 10,000
1881	9,979
1891	9,962
1901	9,964
1911	9,950
1921	9,956
1931	9,960

The proportion of persons born in Bengal has increased from 9,950 in 1911 to 9,960 in 1931. So immigration from outside Bengal has decreased.

TABLE 1
Chittagong District (Kayasthas)

	1931	1921	1911	1901
Thanas				
Total	184,735→	1,13,939→	88,410	
Sadar Sub-Division	174,605			
Fatekchari	8,443	6,625	6,070	
Raojan	23,363 } →	15,243 }	12,284	
Rangania	9,182 }	4,124 }		
	<hr/> 32,545	<hr/> 19,367		
Hat-hazari	9,137	5,512	7,902	
Chittagong	11,441 }	6,083 }	7,913	
Double Moorings	4,306 }	3,371 }		
Pachalais	1,418 }	1,084 }		
	<hr/> 27,165	<hr/> 10,538		

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Mirsarai	14,506	10,946	10.020
Sitakund	4,775	4,532	4,388
Patiya	32,724	17,380	17,149
Boalkhali	16,782	10,427	
	<hr/> 49,506	<hr/> 27,807	
Satkania	16,656	9,936	8.957
Banskhali	8,925	6,926	10,731
Anwara	12,947	6,049	
	<hr/> 21,872	<hr/> 12,975	
Cox's Bazar	3,229	1,624	1,121
Ramu	500	507	
	<hr/> 3,729	<hr/> 2,131	
Maheskhali	3,697	1,883	1,039
Kutubdia	219	130	
	<hr/> 3,916	<hr/> 2,013	
Teknaf	158	149	188
Ukhia	277	118	
	<hr/> 435	<hr/> 267	
Chakaria	2,050	1,340	626

Cox's Bazar Sub-division 10,130

TABLE 2

Chittagong District (Kayasthas)

	1911—21	1921—31
District	+ 30.01%	+ 62.13%
Fatekchari	+ 9.14%	+ 27.44%
Raojan	+ 57.66%	+ 68.04%
(Rangania)	...	+ 122.54%
Hat-hazari	- 30.26%	+ 65.76%

TABLE 2

Chittagong	+ 33.12%	+ 61.21%
(Double Moorings)	...	+ 27.74%
(Pachalais)	...	+ 30.81%
Mirsarai	+ 9.24%	+ 32.52%
Sitakund	+ 3.40%	+ 5.36%
Patiya	+ 62.15%	+ 78.03%
(Boalkhali)	...	+ 60.95%
Satkania	+ 10.93%	+ 67.74%
Banskhali	+ 20.91%	+ 68.57%
(Anwara)	...	+ 114.03%
Cox's Bazar	+ 90.09%	+ 74.99%
(Ramu)	...	- 1.38%
Maheskhali	+ 93.74%	+ 94.53%
(Kutubdia)	...	+ 68.46%
Teknaf	+ 42.02%	+ 62.92%
(Ukhia)	...	+ 134.74%
Chakaria	+ 114.57%	+ 52.98%

QUARTZITE-FLAKES IN THE NEOLITHIC DEPOSITS, NAGARJUNAKONDA¹

H. SARKAR

(Received on 20 January 1961)

IN the excavation at Nagarjunkonda (Lat. 16° 31' N ; Long. 79° 14' E) a large number of flakes and blade-like flakes of quartzite were found in the neolithic levels in association with neoliths of dolerite, microliths of chert and prismatic quartz-crystal, besides pottery, beads of shell, paste and steatite and other miscellaneous stone objects like pestle, etc. In the majority of cases, these flakes are not secondarily worked into any standard form of tools, nor do they seem to be waste material of tool manufacture, as no neolith of this type of quartzite was obtained in the Nagarjunakonda valley. In addition to these quartzite flakes, others of dolerite were also discovered ; but since all the neolithic tools are of dolerite, the existence of dolerite flakes is explicable. But it does not necessarily rule out the functional use of some of the dolerite flakes. In this paper an attempt has been made to indicate that these flakes might have had some utility in the daily life of the neolithic settlers of this valley, and that a flake-tradition possibly survived from the past and existed along with this neolithic assemblage.

¹ Originally submitted to the Forty-ninth session of the Indian Science Congress, Cuttack (January, 1962). For preliminary report on the stone-age cultures of Nagarjunakonda, see 'Studies in the Stone Age of Nagarjunakonda, and its neighbourhood' by K. V. Soundara Rajan in *Ancient India*, No. 14.

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Raw Material

It has already been mentioned that flakes of two different types of raw materials, viz., quartzite and dolerite, were unearthed in the excavation. Both varieties of rock are still easily available in the valley. The neolithic settlement flourished practically in the vicinity of a trap dyke, which divides the valley into two halves. In the early phase, the neolithic people depended more on river-worn quartzite pebbles rather than on grey quartzite nodules, any quantity of which can be obtained from the surrounding hills. In fact, the slopes of some of the hills were found to be strewn with cores and flakes comparable to those recovered in the neolithic deposits. It is rather surprising that the earliest neolithic settlement did not generally exploit this kind of quartzite in spite of its abundance in the valley. The earliest phase, characterized by pale brown hand-made pottery, chert microliths and only three crudely chipped neolithic implements, disclosed either basaltic flakes or flakes struck off from quartzite pebbles. They did not, however, occur in large numbers. But the last two phases witnessed an overwhelming frequency of greyish quartzite. During this period, burnished grey ware had an exceptionally high percentage; red ware formed an insignificant quantity. The reason for such change in the raw material is difficult to ascertain, since any quantity of quartzite pebble can easily be procured from the river Krishna.

Classification

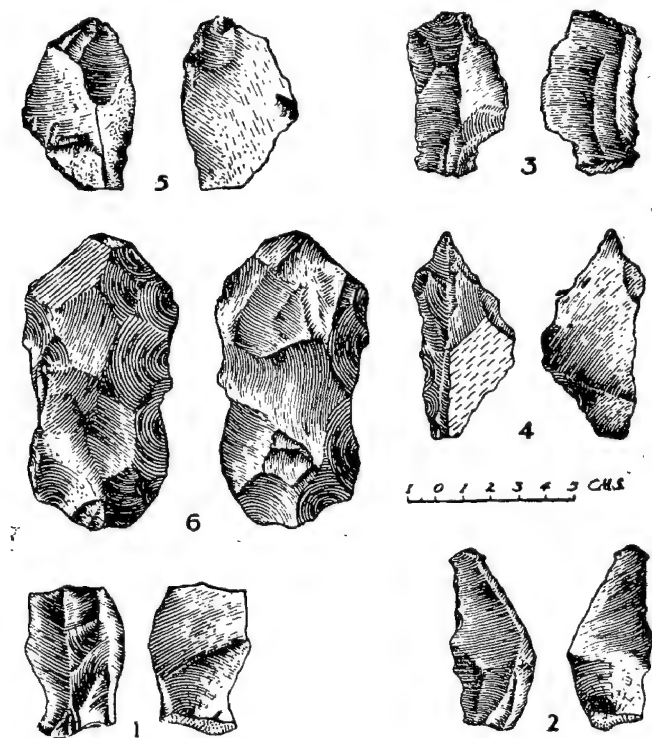
The persistence of quartzite flakes, either struck off from pebbles or boulders, may suggest the existence of a flake-tradition in the neolithic assemblage of Nagarjunakonda. That these flakes were locally manufactured is apparent from their huge bulk.

The majority of the flakes with wider flaking angle do not show any secondary working. But though they show only primary flaking, the shapes do recur and have either a sharp cutting edge or a pointed end. Some of the

dolerite flakes also exhibit an identical character. Above all, use-marks on such flakes are not of rare occurrence. Flake-blades without any secondary working have sharp edges which can be conveniently used as knife. Even at present, there are tribes who make use of convenient bits of sharp stone for chopping trees or fashioning wooden implements (Oakley, 1956).

A fairly large number of quartzite cores were also recovered during excavation. In a few cases flakes have been taken out longitudinally in all directions from a single platform. Flakes, which can definitely be considered as rejects, sometimes show longitudinal scars.

Broadly speaking, these flakes may be classified into four main groups, name by (i) flake-blade, (ii) point, iii) scraper, (iv) wedge. Blades display a wide variety of shapes. Parallel-sided blades have a high medial ridge and thick bulbar end.



Flake-blades with thick back are either slender in shape or squarish (Nos. 1 & 2). In some examples they have crescent-shaped cutting edge. No. 3 is a tanged flake-blade,

with use-marks on the cutting edge. Possibly some of the backed flake-blades were used as knives. Flakes with pointed end might have been used as awl or drill. One of the pits in a neolithic site yielded a stone tablet, which shows what may be regarded as incipient drill holes. Microlithic points or awls were too small to have been used for boring holes in a stone tablet. There are, nevertheless, points with definite secondary working (Nos. 4 & 5). In one examples, at least, the tang is deliberately worked out (No. 5). Leaf-shaped flakes do not generally exhibit any secondary working. Scrapers (No. 6), in the majority of cases, are worked tools on flakes and show a wide variety. The use of wedge is attested to by the repeated occurrence of thick squarish flakes. A neolithic economy having a preponderance of axe and adze possibly knew as well the use of wedge for splitting wood etc. Foote's (1914) *Catalogue* includes quite a good number of wedges, either worked or unworked.

Comparison

The occurrence of quartzite flakes in neolithic context has not been reported from other sites so far. Foote's (1916) list of unpolished artefacts includes flakes, scrapers, wedges, knives, etc., but they are invariably wrought on basaltic stone. In this connection, it may be mentioned that scrapers, flakes, flake-knives from Bellary (No. 778-789 of Foote's *Catalogue*) though made on basaltic rock, may well be compared typologically with those from Nagarjunakonda. But Foote (1916) has not completely ruled out the possibility of the prevalence of quartzite tools in the neolithic assemblage. He writes that, 'Quartzite, the great stand-by of the palaeolithic people, is almost unknown among neolithic artefacts unless possibly a few flakes and scrapers of that material may belong to the second stone period, though they were left unpolished for some reason or other. The unworked edge of a quartzite scrapper would probably have been a more effective tool for scraping with than a polished one would have proved.' Foote (1916), however, ascribes two wedges of grey quartzite discovered at

Paspalle site in Kurnool District and two worked quartzite flakes from Vidapanakallu (1852-1 & 2 of Foote's *Catalogue*) in Anantapur District to the neolithic period. The last mentioned flakes are described as elongated and thick and, as such, they can hardly be considered as microliths.

Conclusion

These quartzite flakes, in all likelihood, were utilized by the neolithic settlers Nagarjunakonda in their daily requirements, which normally could not have been met with by neolithic tools proper or by microliths. If the flake-blades are set aside, Nagarjunakonda neolithic pattern was without any knife, the function of which in some other sites was possibly carried out by the long chert ribbon flakes. Microlithic blades were too small and delicate to have served as knives employed for cutting tougher materials. Furthermore, neoliths of Nagarjunakonda, representing either digging implements or tools for carpentry, could hardly cover the daily necessities of a growing neolithic economy. These flakes are, therefore, a necessary appendage of the neolithic culture of Nagarjunakonda. That an element of flake-tradition, though on trap rocks, existed in the neolithic sites of Bellary may be gathered from an examination of the Foote collection in the Madras Museum. A worked piece of trap (No. 2643 of Coggin Brown's *Catalogue*, 1917), now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows sharp polished edge which was intentionally brought about in order to utilize the flake as a tool.

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CASTE-MOBILITY AMONG THE MAHATO OF SOUTH MANBHUM

BIMAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

(Received on 21 May 1962)

PARGANNAH Barabhum (in the former district of Manbhum), the now defunct feudal estate, comprises 596 villages spread over 640 sq. miles. The Mahato who are later immigrants in this estate are distributed in 389 villages and have a total population of 71,892 persons (13,955 families) and comprises 29.38% of the total population of this Pargannah. They are primarily agriculturists and now speak the common local dialect—*M a n b h u i ñ ā ṭ h a r*, a corrupt form of Bengali.

For the last 35 years or so, there has been a systematic attempt on the part of the Mahatos of South Manbhum to attain the Kshatriya status and to identify themselves with the Kurmis of M. P., U. P. and North Bihar. Meetings have been arranged at different places of Manbhum to propagate such notion and to inspire the common people (of that caste) to pick up certain Hindu high caste traits, namely, initiation with the sacred thread, shunning group-dancing, giving up wine and introducing veil and purdah for married girls. Such attempts have been sponsored through the initiative of All-India Kurmi-Kshatriya Association to which the Manbhum Mahatos belong as members.

A notion common among the elite of the Mahatos is that they are the descendants of Chhatrapati Shivaji and should follow the high ideals and aspirations of that Kurmi hero. They further try to impress that, in Maharashtra, Kurmis are divided into Kunbis and Marathas and that the

Mahatos are but the eastern extension of these Kurmis. But the common Mahatos are less concerned with such anecdotes. Thus when the author visited the village of Puijanga (in Barabazar P.S., Dt. Purulia) in 1949, they did not seem to be very much interested when he tried to ascertain their opinion about it. Most of them said, 'It may be'.

Between 1894 and 1931 A.D., the All-India Kurmi Kshatriya Association, had 19 different conferences in 16 different big towns in the States of M. P., U. P. and Bihar (excepting Chotanagpur). The following important personalities attended these meetings in the capacity of President.

Place where the meeting was held	Year	Name of President
Lucknow	1894	Sri Godanlal, B. A, L.L.B of Farukhabad
Lucknow	1895	Sri Nandalal of Lucknow
Pilbhit	1896	Sri Mithila Saran Singh, B.A. B.L, of Patna
Iklaspur	1906	Sri Mithila Saran Singh, B.A. B.L, of Patna
Chunar	1909	Sri Najappa, Bar-at-Law of Bangalore
Pilbhit	1910	C. B. Naidu, Bar-at-Law of Nagpur
Itaya	1911	Sri S. L. Sinha, B.A. of Bakipur
Barabanki	1912	Prof. J. C. Swami Narayan, M.A. of Gujarat
Ahmedpur	1913	Hon'ble B. J. Patel, Bar-at-Law of Bombay
Lucknow	1915	Srimat Sampat Rao Gaekwad, Bar-at-Law of Baroda
Agra	1916	Sj. M. B. Patel, B. A, L.L. B. of Ahmedabad

Farukhabad	1918	Srimat Sadasib Rao of Dewas
Kanpur	1919	His Highness Maharaja of Kolhapur
Sitapur	1924	Sir G. Rao Jhabar of Dewas
Special sitting of Madhyabharat	1926	Rai Bahadur Vital Rao Bandekar of Bombay
Lakhimpur Khiri	1927	Srimat Jagdev Rao of Dewas
Jabalpur	1927	Brindaban Katiar B.A. LL.B. of Fategarh (U. P.)
Muzaaffarpur	1928-29	Srimat Jagdev Rao Pabar of Dewas
Purulia	1931	Eknath Neole of Maharashtra

In the former district of Manbhum, the 15 caste-mobility meetings of the Mahatos were held between 1922 and 1955 at the following places.

Held at	Police Station	Year
Golamara	Purulia	1922
Kedadih	Chandankeari	1923
Khudibandh	Purulia	1926
Ghagorjhuri	Purulia	1929
Jhalda	Jhalda	Around 1929
Pathardi	Hura	Around 1930
Purulia	Purulia	1931
Bamni	Manbazar	1932
Birra	Patamda	1935
Badhabir	Ichagarh	Around 1940
Bhalubasa	Manbazar	1944-45
Torang	Baghmundi	1945-46
Dulmi	Jhalda	1947-48
Choto Urma	Purulia	1948
Golamara	Purulia	1954-55

The 17th general meeting of the All-India Kurmi Kshatriya Association held at Muzaffarpur in 1929 was attended by three Manbhum delegates, and there it was first resolved that in view of the cultural uniformity of the Chotanagpuria and other

Kurmis, the Manbhum Kurmis would act according to the suggestion and advice of the Association. The three delegates returned home with sacred thread on. This was followed by a mammoth gathering (of Mahatos) at Gaghorjhuri (Manbhum) which was again attended by some non-Chotanagpur Kurmis. The right of Kurmis to wear the sacred thread was further acclaimed and upheld. In the Mirzapur session sponsored by the Association a few Brahmans from Banaras were also invited, and there was a hot debate as to the eligibility of the Kurmis to wearing sacred thread. Some 'pundits' argued that it was not proper for the Mahatos to put on the sacred thread. However, the need of abandoning group-dancing and widow-remarriage and taking up of veil (for married women) and sacred thread being repeatedly stressed in all meetings, there has been a tendency among a section of the Mahato to act in harmony with such recent introductions. This has been celebrated by a number of sacred thread-taking yajnas in different villages of Manbhum at different periods. Thus, in the village of Madhupur (Bandoyan P. S., Dt. Purulia, West Bengal), around 1950, on the occasion of the sradh ceremony of the mother of Kushadhwaj, a yajna ceremony was arranged on the initiative of some Srishthidhar Mahato (Vill. Jargo, Jhalda P. S., Dt. Purulia, West Bengal). A Bengali Brahman from the village of Jambaida (P. S. Manbazar) presided. Nearly 50 people accepted the sacred thread. Another of almost the same strength had sacred thread in two other ceremonies organised by the same Srishthidhar Baba (Mahato by caste) at Paraisa and Supudi (Bandoyan P. S.) around 1958.

During our study of the caste-mobility movement among the Mahatos of Pargannah Barabhum, we have felt interested to note the reactions of the common people towards this reformatory movements.

Village Bausbera stands only 2 miles to the east of Barabazar, the headquarter of Pargannah Barabhum. Out of a total of 49 families belonging to 4 different castes, 45 belong to the Mahato community and all the families have descended from a single ancestor who once migrated from the village of Durku

(Sikharbhum). In the Purulia session, 5 persons (of this village) who attended, took on the sacred thread. Since no other person of this village had it, they also ultimately abandoned it. They now rationalize, *J a k h a n d e s h a c h a r h a b e t a k h a n s a b a i l i b e* (When it will turn to a custom, everybody will accept it). One Santiram Mahato had it in the Alipore Central Jail when he was put behind the bars for joining in the Purulia Merger Movement in 1956. Some of the Mahatos are acquainted with the different meetings but none cared to attend any but the Purulia session. All keep fowl and eat its meat. But they do not practise group-dancing, at present.

Herbona is a petty big multi-caste village, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-east of Barabazar. More than two scores of Mahato families dwell there. They suggest that the Kurmi Kshatriya movement is meant for leading a more puritanic way of life. In this village, before the holding of the first meeting, group-dancing was probably in practice. After the Birra meeting, some let free all the fowl, but later on started keeping again in appreciation of the medical value of the soup of fowl's meat. A dozen persons attended the Birra and the Urma meetings. And 11 persons (of total 40/45 families) having sacred thread had them in these meetings. My informants with sacred thread suggest that they are offered *p a i t a* by some Pande Brahman priest, before nuptials. *U p a b i t a* acceptance is preceded by yajna ceremony. No sacrifice of animal is performed. And they suggest that this priest also accompanies the bridal party and has got certain ritualistic duties to perform.

Puijanga village is hardly a mile off from Herbona. Here we find a congregation of 70 or more Mahato families. None wear the sacred thread. All keep and take fowl's meat. One Baijnath Mahato (male, 62) said that when he was 14/15 years old, he himself took part in group-dancing on the occasion of Karam festival. Four persons of this village belonging, to the Mahato caste went to attend the Birra meeting, where the idea of taking sacred thread and giving up fowl's meat was advocated. On return to their village, they

also set free the fowl possessed by them. But later on they withdrew from doing so, as their agnates did not desire to adhere to this school. The Mahato of Puijanga do not appear to be least perturbed as they do not act in accordance with the other Mahatos. A free translation of the version of a Mahato informant runs thus, 'We say, we are agriculturists, we won't have sacred thread. Sweat makes it rough and harsh. If our descendants take it, they may. Fowl is taken by everybody. What is the good of giving it up? Fowl is good for health.....The other group with sacred thread will surely marry with us.....where will they find partners?'

Some persons attended the meetings held at Gokulnagar and Mukru. And no definite and serious impact is visible.

The concourse of Mahato populace at Birra faced a queer situation. The two *Deshmorals* of the Mahato placed different views on caste-mobility. Janigram Mahato of Kherua pleaded that taking of sacred thread and subsequent abandonment of fowl were not essential items of social reform. Whereas, Akhsoy Mahato of Banjora advocated that these would surely accelerate their aspiration for achieving higher social status in the regional caste hierarchy. Eventually, the gathering was divided into two blocs under the banners of the two *Deshmorals*. Today, we find that in Pargannah Barabhum, Mahatos with sacred thread declare Akhsoy Mahato as their leader and those without are the followers of Janigram. It is interesting to note that these two *Deshmorals* were, previously, the virtual caste leaders of two territorial segments. Such a cleavage within a caste is not to be found in any other group in this area. Below we report on the nature of addresses read and appeals made in some of the caste meetings (free translation).

At Bhalubasa : (Manbazar P. S., Dt. Purulia) :—

'It is a day of great pleasure as you have responded to the call of the society and mustered over here condemning all physical and psychic worries that have come in your way.....

we have not been able to provide you with all adequate facilities for your fooding and lodging, but a point we should remember always ; that we are the descendants of a warrior caste. If due to the want of palatable dishes and rosy bed we feel disgusted, that will be tantamount to deviating from our own caste policy. You all know how Chhatrapati Shivaji, the glory of the Kurmis, roamed about in hills and dales and brought the Kurmis under a common banner to fight against the Mughals.....This is the way of life led by the great Kurmi sons. We should also follow the suit.

‘In India, the Kurmis are spread almost everywhere : numbering approximately five crore.....they can be said to be the backbone of India. It is not a matter to laugh at..... The whole group with their concerted effort has harnessed the responsibility of procuring the food for the whole nationEven they respond to the clarion call of Mother India to shed drops of blood in the interest of this country.....Let me conclude by placing a brief account of our clan affiliation :

Lineage (bansa)	Sub-lineage (upabansa)	Clan
Surya	Banowar	Gautam, Agni, Kashyap
„	Kachim or Kachya	Manab
„	Dumuria	Vasistha
„	Kesharia or Keshari	Gautama
„	Kairwar or Karbar	Bharadwaj
„	Goliwar	Vaishampayan
Bramha	Chilbindha or Chiluar	Kapil, Kashyap, Debraj
„	Punviar or Pandariar	Saktiyen
Chandra	Dancha Mutraar	Parasar, Sakti, Vasistha
„	Katlar	Garga
„	Tidowar or Tirowar	Bharadwaj
„	Sankhawar or Saoar	Kashyap
„	Bansriar or Bansawar	Bain
„	Hindowar	Garga
„	Hastoar	Sakti
„	Hembodia	Bhargava
Nag	Nangtoar	Saunak

Free translation of a pamphlet written under the authorship of Sri Rajen Singha of Purulia, Secretary, Kurmi Kshatriya Yuvak Sangha.

'We should keep pace with the current trend of this twentieth century. Communities that have thriven in the present era, have succeeded by adopting timely measures to this end.....Those who have proved reluctant in implementing these necessities are facing a lot of troubles. It is regrettable to note that in this life of struggle, when even manual labourers have united and have been progressing a lot, the Kurmi Kshatriya community has not advanced sufficiently.....instead of looking forward for our duties, we have proved more inclined to the narrow limitation of peace and comfort. If we proceed with a more rational and practical outlook, we will be able to understand why we have been so underestimated in public opinion. The prima facie reason is our want of constructive activities. You know that we have been labelled as caste Hindus by the Honourable India Government and by other high caste Hindus. Still we are so inert and imprudent that due to sheer lack of enthusiasm we have been put in a tight corner..... It should always be borne in mind that we have been in a field of keen competition,..... Each of us shall have to undergo a lot of sacrifice.....you stand united to inject new energy to the 'samiti'..... The main objects of this association is to spread education and spirit of mutual aid etc. and ultimately to follow high ideals.....unity is the symbol for social reform.

'I hope, this appeal to my caste brothers will have some positive effect. And all of us should dedicate our lives for the improvement of the 'Society' (association) by contributing our mite.'

In summing up the above general process of social mobility, a few things are notable :

1. The leadership is borne by the elite who are educationally advanced and economically solvent.

2. This social mobility movement has left a two-fold effect on the Mahato community :—

- (a) Disintegration on the group level—by bringing in factions within the Mahato community.
- (b) Again, being inspired by such reformistic aspirations, the Mahatos of Manbhum have been integrated with the Kurmis of U. P., M. P. and Bihar on the basis of an assumed relationship.

3. The ideas propagated by the enlightened class has not received general approval of the masses.

4. Though a section of the Mahatos has formed an opposition bloc, yet uptil now no case has been recorded in which the people belonging to this opposition group has tried to be active separately.

5. Though on the basis of some assumed relationship the Mahatos of Manbhum tend to merge their identity with the Kurmis of M. P., U. P. and Bihar, mass intermarriage is not in evidence. In the whole Paragunnah of Barabhum, the author could gather only 3 or 4 instances where girls have been taken from or given to Non-Manbhum Kurmis. And these 3/4 instances come from the class with sacred thread.

6. In recent days, the talks given before the public are made more to meet secular demands.

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ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE LAMBADI

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(*Received on 20 April 1962*)

The People

THE Lambadi are a semi-nomadic tribe residing in various states all over India, particularly in southern and western India. They are called by different names such as Banjara, Sugali, Lambar, Lambadi, Lumaní and so on. They trace their origin from northern India, especially from Rajputana and Gujarat, which is also supported by historical as well as linguistic evidences.

They speak a corrupt form of Hindusthani and Marwari with a mixture of local language (Sastri 1929). Thurston (1908) states that their dialect may be referred to the language of western India. There are historical records which indicate their migration from the northern to southern India along with the great invading Mughal armies as carriers of grains and supplies (Briggs 1813). Sir Alfred Lyall (1899) is of opinion that they are of very mixed origin, 'made up of contingent from various other castes and tribes which may have at different times joined the profession'. Formerly they were classed as a criminal tribe with predatory habits, but most of them have now settled down as agriculturists or resorted to other honourable pursuits.

According to Enthoven (1922) it is a reasonable assumption that they increased and absorbed many foreign elements

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during the long wars between the Delhi emperors and the smaller kingdoms of the Deccan from Muhammad Tughlak to Aurangzeb.

The Data

During January-April 1960, the present writers measured 102 Lambadi males from five villages of Guntur and Nalgonda Districts, which are situated within a radius of 12 miles. Dermatoglyphic investigations of the same people were also undertaken (1961). Martin's technique of measurement was followed excepting for auricular height which was measured with Schultz's parallelometer. The distribution of age groups and average value is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Age Distribution

Age in years	f	%	Mean
18—19	3	2.94	
20—24	13	12.74	
25—29	20	19.61	
30—34	17	16.67	34.83
35—39	16	15.69	
40—44	9	8.82	
45—49	12	11.76	
50—54	12	11.76	
Total	102	99.99	

The mean age for 102 Lambadi male is 34.83 years, with a range of 18 years to 54 years. Two-thirds of the population surveyed are less than 40 years.

Table 2 presents mean, standard deviation, and coefficient of variation with their standard errors for the various characters and indices of the Lambadi males.

TABLE 2

Mean, standard deviation (S. D.) and coefficient of Variation (C. V.).

Measurements	N.	Mean \pm S. E.	S. D. \pm S. E.	C. V. \pm S. E.
Stature	97	1648.62 \pm 5.53	54.50 \pm 3.91	3.31 \pm 0.24
Auricular height	102	123.24 \pm 0.54	5.41 \pm 0.38	4.39 \pm 0.31
Max. head length	102	182.34 \pm 0.69	7.00 \pm 0.49	3.84 \pm 0.27
Max. head breadth	102	142.48 \pm 0.42	4.23 \pm 0.30	2.97 \pm 0.21
Min. frontal breadth	102	101.17 \pm 0.33	3.35 \pm 0.23	3.31 \pm 0.23
Max. Bizygo. breadth	102	132.71 \pm 0.43	4.31 \pm 0.30	3.25 \pm 0.23
Bigonial breadth	102	100.85 \pm 0.64	6.50 \pm 0.46	6.43 \pm 0.45
Inter orbital breadth	100	32.10 \pm 0.25	2.53 \pm 0.18	7.88 \pm 0.56
Ext. bipalpebral bd.	100	84.82 \pm 0.32	3.17 \pm 0.22	3.74 \pm 0.26
Nasal height	102	50.39 \pm 0.35	3.49 \pm 0.24	6.93 \pm 0.49
Nasal breadth	102	35.55 \pm 0.26	2.62 \pm 0.18	7.37 \pm 0.52
Nasal depth	100	19.74 \pm 0.22	2.19 \pm 0.15	11.09 \pm 0.78
Upper face height	101	65.2 \pm 0.46	4.65 \pm 0.33	7.13 \pm 0.50
Total face height	100	112.73 \pm 0.68	6.81 \pm 0.48	6.04 \pm 0.43
Horiz. Circum. of head	102	537.63 \pm 1.59	16.05 \pm 1.12	2.99 \pm 0.21
Transverse circum.	102	335.56 \pm 1.20	12.14 \pm 0.85	3.62 \pm 0.25
Sitting height	85	810.44 \pm 3.73	34.42 \pm 2.64	4.25 \pm 0.33
Length breadth index	102	78.25 \pm 0.38	3.81 \pm 0.27	4.87 \pm 0.34
Length height index	102	67.64 \pm 0.31	3.10 \pm 0.22	4.58 \pm 0.32
Breadth height index	102	86.54 \pm 0.40	4.02 \pm 0.28	4.65 \pm 0.33
Tr. Fronto-parit. index	102	71.05 \pm 0.26	2.61 \pm 0.18	3.67 \pm 0.26
Nasal index	102	70.88 \pm 0.70	7.08 \pm 0.50	9.99 \pm 0.70
Total Facial index	100	84.88 \pm 0.52	5.24 \pm 0.37	6.17 \pm 0.44
Tr. Cephalo-facial index	102	93.20 \pm 0.34	3.46 \pm 0.24	3.71 \pm 0.26
Zygo-frontal index	102	76.28 \pm 0.26	2.61 \pm 0.18	3.42 \pm 0.24
Zygo-mandibular index	102	76.00 \pm 0.38	3.85 \pm 0.27	5.06 \pm 0.35
Inter Orbital breadth index	100	24.18 \pm 0.18	1.79 \pm 0.13	7.40 \pm 0.52

The examinations of the measurements indices (Table 2), and non-metric observations reveal the following characteristics of the Lambadi.

Stature and Sitting height

In stature distribution, the Lambadi show a double-peaked curve, the peaks being at 'below medium' (26.80%) and 'above medium' (23.71%) classes. On average they are 'medium' (1641.62 mm) in stature. There appears to be very small range of variation in sitting height, the average being 810.44 mm. The greatest frequency occurs between 750 mm to 849 mm. category, i.e., within 'low' and 'below medium' groups.

Head and Face

The average cephalic measurements of the Lambadi are medium, 182.34 mm for length and 142.48 mm for breadth. In cephalic index, the majority of the Lambadi have been classed as mesocephals (54.90%) with a marked dolichocephalic tendency. In order to ascertain relative head-size, cephalic module may be obtained by adding the three head measurements, length, breadth and height and dividing by three.

Lambadis tend to have a medium head-size having a mean cephalic module of 147.8 mm and the range varies from 139.11 mm to 162.33 mm. As regard length-auricular height index the Lambadi are distinctly hypsicephalic, the majority (94.12%) having indices ranged from 62.69 to 76.44, indicative of high neurocranium. The average value for the minimum frontal breadth is 101.17 mm, showing a forehead of medium breadth. In forehead height, the majority of them are of medium size and brow-ridge is usually absent or of submedium development.

Lambadis tend to have a low morphological facial height corresponding to their short upper faces. The average for total facial height is 112.73 mm and for upper face height 65.21 mm. These values, in combination with narrow facial breadth yield a mean morphological face index of 84.88. The distribution of morphological facial index shows that 32% are euryprosop, 27% are mesoprosop and 23% are leptoprosop.

The breadth measurement of the face (bizygomatic breadth) is somewhat narrow. The classification of Lebzelter and Saller thus places 69.60% of the the Lambadi in the 'narrow' class, followed by 23.35% in the 'medium' class. The mean bigonial breadth is 100.15 mm with a range of 85 mm to 116 mm clearly demonstrating the diminution of the mandibular dimension. The mean values for nasal height and nasal breadth are 50.39 mm and 35.55 mm respectively. From these two dimensions the indices on the average comes to 70.88 which places it in the border of mesorrhine and leptorrhine category. Percentile distribution of the nasal index shows about half of the Lambadi as mesorrhine (49.02%), closely followed by leptorrhine. Three quarters of the group possess a straight nasal bridge. The remainder (excepting 4% of wavy profile) are equally divided between convex and concave profile. The nasion depression tends to be more on the sub-medium side.

Measurements pertaining to nose, i. e. nasal depth, inter-orbital breadth and nasal breadth show relatively high degree of variability as judged from the values of C. V.

Skin-colour, Eye-colour and Hair-form

Skin colour (according to von Luschan's scale) of the Lambadi males varies from light brown to dark reddish brown, the majority (75%) being bright tawny. The exposed parts are generally darker than those habitually covered. The face, neck and lower arms are especially weather-beaten.

The sclera is not always white and colour of the iris is predominantly brown (41.83%), although deep dark and black brown reach a fairly high percentage (25.51%). The percentage of dark brown and *grunlich* eyes are 16.33 and 15.31 percent respectively.

In hair-form the majority (50%) have flat with slight waves, the next largest series having broad waves (43.24%).

Comparison with Thurston's Lambadi data :

The only mentionable work is that of Thurston referred to by Risley (1915) which is compared with the present series in the table below :—

Group;	N	Stature	Head Lth.	Head br.	Cephalic Ind.	Nasal Ind.
Lambadi (present study)	108	1648.62	182.34	142.48	78.25	70.88
Lambadi (Thurston)	40	1645.0	184.0	139.0	75.4	69.1

When the mean values of two series are compared, stature shows a negligible difference of 3.6 mm. Whereas the present series falls short of that of Thurston by 1.66 mm only in head length, it is broader in head breadth by 3.48 mm resulting in a rounder head form; the cephalic index of present series being 2.85 units higher than Thurston's. In nasal form the latter series had comparatively finer noses, as judged from average values. Thurston measured from Mysore during the first decade of the present century while the present sample of Andhra Pradesh was measured fifty years later; whether the little difference is attributable to regional variation or due to smaller sample size of the former is not known.

Affinity with the Rajput

The historical records and linguistic evidence lead us to assume that the Lambadi migrated to southern India from Gujarat and Rajputana and they trace their descent from Rajput ancestors. For determining their physical affinities with the Rajput, comparison has been instituted with available data on the latter. Table 3 shows the means for Lambadi and includes the different Rajput series for comparative purposes.

TABLE 3

Comparative Table

Group :	Lambadi (Andhra Pradesh)	Pamar Rajput (Rajasthan)	Rathor Rajput (Western U. P.)	Chauhan Rajput (Western U. P.)	Baghel Rajput (C. P.)	Rajput (Gujarat)
Observer :	Present study	Gupta & Sastry (Unpublished)	Gupta & Sastry (Unpublished)	Gupta & Sastry (Unpublished)	Guha (1935)	Majumdar (1950)
N	102	65	134	148	50	103
	Mean \pm S. E.	Mean \pm S. E.	Mean \pm S. E.	Mean \pm S. E.	Mean \pm S. E.	Mean \pm S. E.
Stature	1648.62 \pm 5.53	1678.75 \pm 7.30	1677.59 \pm 4.72	1671.08 \pm 4.70	1691.86 \pm 5.84	1643.3 \pm 0.53
Max. hd. lth.	182.34 \pm 0.69	192.35 \pm 0.76	192.49 \pm 0.54	190.08 \pm 0.54	187.40 \pm 0.56	185.03 \pm 0.62
Max. hd. lth.	142.48 \pm 0.42	138.86 \pm 0.53	139.81 \pm 0.48	141.68 \pm 0.45	142.78 \pm 0.48	144.55 \pm 0.54
Auricular ht.	123.24 \pm 0.54	128.34 \pm 0.67	125.90 \pm 0.57	125.86 \pm 0.49	121.16 \pm 0.62	132.0 \pm 0.07
Max. Big. bth.	132.71 \pm 0.43	133.06 \pm 0.58	133.85 \pm 0.44	134.32 \pm 0.39	134.02 \pm 0.42	133.99 \pm 0.49
Nasal ht.	50.39 \pm 0.35	48.97 \pm 0.45	51.40 \pm 0.31	51.55 \pm 0.34	52.74 \pm 0.35	51.98 \pm 0.29
Nasal breadth	35.55 \pm 0.26	35.88 \pm 0.32	36.21 \pm 0.23	36.57 \pm 0.22	36.90 \pm 0.24	35.60 \pm 0.25
Total facial lth.	112.73 \pm 0.68	115.71 \pm 0.88	115.36 \pm 0.61	115.32 \pm 0.56	117.12 \pm 0.59	112.84 \pm 0.57
Lth. bth. Index	78.25 \pm 0.38	72.76 \pm 0.33	72.66 \pm 0.27	74.38 \pm 0.31	76.28 \pm 0.33	78.12
Lth. ht. Index	67.64 \pm 0.31	66.74 \pm 0.30	65.43 \pm 0.28	66.05 \pm 0.28	64.71 \pm 0.36	—
Bth. Ht. Index	86.54 \pm 0.40	91.83 \pm 0.54	89.94 \pm 0.46	88.91 \pm 0.37	84.93 \pm 0.47	—
Nasal Index	70.88 \pm 0.70	73.67 \pm 0.95	70.77 \pm 0.61	71.42 \pm 0.64	70.42 \pm 0.68	68.49
Total facial index	84.88 \pm 0.52	87.01 \pm 0.65	86.26 \pm 0.47	85.91 \pm 0.42	85.40 \pm 0.42	84.22

A comparison of measurements of Lambadi with those of Rajput groups of different areas indicates that the Lambadi are not absolutely within the general Rajput range. The stature mean of the present study is considerably lower than in all the Rajput series, with the exception of Gujarat Rajput, who have a mean of 1643.3 mm, which is not far from the mean Lambadi stature. However, all the Rajput groups and the Lambadi remain within the range of medium to above medium height. Maximum head length tends to be lesser and head breadth greater among Lambadi, which contributes towards relatively higher cephalic index (mesocephalic) than among all the different Rajput groups. In cephalic index, however, Majumdar's Gujarat Rajput and Guha's series of Baghel Rajput closely agree with the Lambadi. In length-height index little differences exist between the means for Lambadi and Rajput groups, the Baghel being 3 units lesser. There is no distinct difference between the facial breadth of the Lambadi and Rajput groups, while in total facial height they are relatively shorter. As a result, in total facial index the means of the Chauhan, Rathor, Pamar and Baghel Rajput exceed the Lambadi series by 1.03 unit to 2.52 units, whereas the Gujarat Rajput with a mean of 84.22 is almost identical with that of Lambadi. In nasal height and breadth the Lambadi fairly correspond with different Rajput series. It might be that a fair proportion of the differences observed in heights of face and nose and their respective indices would be reduced by the standardization of technique in locating the nasion.

It is worth mentioning that in most of the cephalic and facial dimensions, Lambadi are shorter in comparison to Rajput series, although in maximum head breadth, the Lambadi have somewhat higher mean value than Pamar, Rathor and Chauhan Rajput; consequently cephalic index is greater for the Lambadi. Length-height index too is greater for them on account of having comparatively lesser head length than auricular height.

Test of significant difference (t-test).

The t-tests (Table 4) show significant differences between

the means of Lambadi and Pamar, Rathor, Chauhan and Baghel Rajput when stature, head length and total facial height are taken into consideration. Likewise, in head breadth Pamar, Rathor and Gujarat Rajput with

TABLE 4
Test of significant difference (t-test)

Lambadi with	Character						
	Stature	Head length	Head breadth	Nasal height	Nasal breadth	Bizygomatic breadth	Total facial height
Pamar Rajput	3.37	9.30	5.39	2.54	0.81	0.50	2.96
Rathor Rajput	3.97	11.53	4.17	0.21	1.89	1.84	2.89
Chauhan Rajput	3.08	9.48	1.29	2.37	3.09	2.82	2.94
Baghel Rajput	4.36	4.40	0.41	3.88	3.01	1.74	3.87
Gujarat Rajput	0.69	2.89	3.04	3.53	0.14	1.97	0.12

t-values of 5.32, 4.17 and 3.04 show significant differences in relation to the Lambadi. In bizygomatic and nasal breadth (excepting for Chauhan Rajput with regard to bizygomatic breadth, Chauhan and Baghel Rajput with regard to nasal breadth), t-tests show no significant difference between Lambadi and other Rajput series. However, values of the Gujarat Rajput with respect to stature, nasal breadth, bizygomatic breadth and total facial height are less than 2 indicating no significant difference with reference to the Lambadi. This indicates that the Lambadi are comparatively closer to Gujarat Rajputs in some important morphological characters than to other Rajput groups. But failure to demonstrate the values of 't' as significant or non-significant does not always lead to the assumption that the groups compared are similar or otherwise and the values of 't' simply estimate the probability of a difference between means occurring by chance (Kraus 1961). The limitations in interpreting anthropometrical statistics based upon t-test have been discussed at length by Oliver and Howells (1957). Physical differences

of two distinct racial groups can easily be shown by statistical tests but it is a subject of controversy as to how far the mean differences of anthropometric characters of populations of the same racial stock are susceptible to anthropometric statistics.

Resume'

About their physical appearance it was noted that Lambadi are relatively fair in complexion, medium and below medium in stature having mesocephalic and hypsicephalic head, and a nose medium long and medium wide with a mesorrhine or leptorrhine index. The face height is medium with a mesoprosopic or euryprosopic index. This relatively fair-coloured element might have migrated from the northern part of India to the south and has some racial likeness with the Rajput, a fact arrested by their tradition also. The physical differences, observed between the Lambadi and the Rajput may be due to long separation or absorption of extraneous elements by the Lambadi, who used to lead a nomadic life.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

CASTE RANKING*

These two papers are clearly part of the same formation of hypotheses regarding caste-ranking; and represent attempts to substantiate them partially. The present note deals with the two papers together, from the point of view of their usefulness to social development work. We need to know how people rank each other in existing communities, in order that it may be easier to help in the formation of communities with changing structures, which are getting adapted to the Twentieth Century world.

Although Marriott does not say so specifically, it is my observation that, even in the same region, caste-ranking differs radically as between groups of villages. It was for many years a puzzle to me how these groups could be differentiated; but later observation has indicated, and I believe research would prove, that they have the following characteristics:

1. Villages in a group which has about the same caste-ranking are such as have constant communication with each other.
2. In areas which are relatively undisturbed by modern development, the villages which share a market-place form an intercommunicating group.

Since many villages use more than one market-place, the groups tend to broaden accordingly, if the use of two or more such meeting places is about the same for each—or at any rate if one or more of the market-places used are not just casual and occasional places for visits.

Very often the market-place is also a *mandi*;

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- * McKim Marriott: 1. **Caste Ranking and Community Structure in Five Regions of India and Pakistan**, Deccan College Monograph Series: 23, Poona 1960, pp. 75. Rs. 5/-.
2. **Interactional and Attributional Theories of Caste-Ranking**—expansion of paper read at 57th Annual Meeting of American Anthropological Association, Washington D. C., Nov. 1958, Mimeographed from *Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. 39, No. 2, June, 1959, pp. 92-107.

but it does not follow that there must be such a seasonal traffic to qualify the market-place as such.

3. In areas where N. E. S. Development Blocks have destroyed the unique communicating location of the market-places—especially a single market-place for several villages, the gram-sevak's residential village (or the gram-sevika's) (if they are posted long enough in one place) becomes a fresh meeting place for about 10 villages. In a more successful Block this effect is stronger ; and the Block H. O. becomes a meeting-place of much weaker character for a much larger number of villages than were linked by the market-place.

On the whole, the result of N. E. S. Development is that villages have less communication with each other, and get to know each other less, since the journeys of the villagers outside their own places are divided between market-place, gram-sevak's village, and Block H. O.

4. Where Panchayati Raj has supervened on the N. E. S. system of development, communication probably lessens even further because the errands of the majority of villagers may be carried out by the p a n c h e s, or other semi-officials like the co-operative secretary, when these persons go about their official business to the Block H. O., Panchayat Samiti, and the gram-sevak..
5. There is thus a likelehood of the market-place ceasing to have its former importance as a centre of inter-village communication. In consequence, village people will cease to know each other so well in their personal capacities ; and gossip will no longer illuminate the dreariness of village life.

Without personal knowledge and gossip, of course, the caste-ranking of people in a village where one does not live, will cease to be a possibility. This may or may not destroy caste as an institution—or put the finishing touch to it as a social regulator.

The personal knowledge factor is reported by Marriott as villagers' opinion on page 9 of the former publication listed

above. He does not there, however, refer to any means of ranking caste but that which derives from relative interaction between persons of different castes.

For myself, I doubt if the sharp distinction which Marriott makes between caste-ranking as determined by attributes and joint behaviour within a caste—versus the interactions between persons of different castes—is at all experienced by village people. To suppose that they do, in fact experience such a distinction is, to my mind, to credit them with the typically Western analytic form of thought, which I believe to be most uncommon among Indian village people.

I would say that caste-ranking is the result of common perceptions and ambitions by sizeable groups of people living together within a village. It grows and changes as a result of personal, and thence, caste-group ambitions for prestige and self-respect. A strong personality can do a lot to turn gossip into favourable channels ; and gifts ingeniously placed can do much to alter the caste-ranking of an individual who is particularly anxious not to suffer the disabilities of a lower caste.

Villagers themselves have often told me—the older among them in shocked resignation, that ‘caste-relationships alter every generation, of course ; but we have never seen them alter so much as during the present period’. I think this is a common experience for any one living in a village. The young are always anxious to be rid of the difficulties which caste undoubtedly raises—especially for the lower families on the ladder. In the present generation, however, they have been more determined than before to make changes in the caste-system—but only as far as their own family (or perhaps just themselves) are concerned.

Marriott's papers will not help us a very long way, because they do not make lists of the various forms of caste-distinguishing behaviour. This is what we need to use such sociological material (or cultural ?) in helping the process of fresh social (and political) development in the villages.

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Evelyn Wood

26 April, 1962

BOOK REVIEWS

High Road to Hunza. *By Barbara Mons. Pp. 157, 28 illustrations, 2 maps. 1958, London. Faber and Faber.*

This delightful book of travel gives us a picture of the kingdom of Hunza in the High Himalayas. The Mir, who belongs to one of the Shia sects, rules over a population as a father rules over his children. The author has described the life of the people in the valley, as well as given us an intimate, personal picture of the ruling family.

N. K. Bose

The Edicts of Asoka. *Edited and Translated by N. A. Nikam and Richard McKeon. 1959. xxvii, p. 69. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. \$ 1.75.*

There are several distinctive features in this edition of Asoka's edicts. The translation is in a form which makes it eminently readable and meaningful for any lay reader ; yet accuracy has not been sacrificed anywhere. Secondly, the edicts have been arranged in a logically satisfactory order. The editors begin with an edict in which an account has been given about their adaptation to circumstances, etc. This is followed by another which explains their occasion and purpose. This is followed by a third in which the objectives of the inculcation of Dharma are stated, followed by an elaboration in the successive ones of various issues related to the concept and practice of Dharma.

Professor McKeon has contributed a foreword in which the ethical standpoint taken by Asoka has been explained. He has also shown how the problems which Asoka faced and the solutions which he offered still have an immediate and vital bearing upon problems or situations facing the modern world.

The plan of the Chicago University to publish an international collection of texts bearing upon philosophy and world community is eminently commendable.

N. K. Bose

The Sherdukpens. By R. R. P. Sharma, Shillong. P. C. Dutta for the Research Department, Advisor's Secretariate, Shillong, 1961. xii, p. 101, pls. illus. 22.5 cm.

As the first book of its kind, *The Sherdukpens* presents an interesting account of a small hill-tribe of NEFA. The different chapters deal with land and people ; domestic life ; social life ; political life ; religion and ceremonies and an epilogue. A short bibliography, a glossary of Sherdukpen words and an index are of much help to the reader. Research workers as well as laymen will find the book interesting. It is hoped that this book will serve as a basis for further research on the Sherdukpens. The author himself, as Divisional Research Officer, has come in close contact with the people. A more detailed work is expected from him. The book is furnished with many plates and illustrations. The get-up is attractive, but there are some printing mistakes.

Arati Ray

Stonehenge. By R. J. C. Atkinson, xv, 210, xxv plates, figures. London, Hamish Hamilton. 18 s.

The writer has been in the field for a long time, and has studied carefully questions raised by scientific as well as laymen, and furnished satisfactory answers in the present book.

Structurally, Stonehenge is divided into three main periods marked off by differences ; separate cultures and peoples have both been responsible for them. The sequences have been dated by the modern radio-carbon method. The book is beautifully printed with photographs.

Asok Ghosh

Social Sciences. By M. Halayya. Pp. 260, Bombay, Asia Publishing House. Rs. 7.50.

Social Sciences is planned to serve as a text-book for Indian University students.

Mr. Halayya presents a series of chapters respectively on sociology, economics and politics. This is followed by short chapters on 'Some Current Topics' like 'Human Rights', 'P a n c h - S h e e l', 'National Planning', etc. It will be seen that the author covers the usual ground of social science fairly well. The treatment, I am afraid, is often rather too brief. One will certainly find

a good deal of reliable information within the narrow limits of these chapters. But as the book is meant to be only a first initiation into the social sciences, it fulfils its purpose well enough.

The clear division into chapters, with titles and subtitles, make for easy reading and quick consultation. Bibliographical references are reduced to a minimum.

F. E.

Acta Facultatis rerum naturalium Universitatis Comenianae : Anthropologia.

This anthropological periodical is published by the University of Comenius et Bratislavia, Czechoslovakia. From the four fascicles to hand, it would appear that they concentrate on the statistical, genetic and experimental aspects of anthropology. The periodical is illustrated and contains contributions in different European languages. The large majority however are in the Czech language.

F. E.

Proceedings of the Centenary and Bicentenary Congress of Biology, Singapore 1958. Edited by R. D. Purchon. Pp. 333. University of Malaya Press. \$ 13'50.

The book is divided into eleven parts, each containing several chapters, except the first which contains the presidential address of Professor J. B. S. Haldane in which he has discussed at length 'The Theory of Natural Selection Today'. Besides this part, there are three chapters under Introductory Session, nine chapters under Evolution, seven chapters under Parasitology and Entomology, three chapters under Zoo-Geography, six chapters under Territorial Ecology, five chapters under Freshwater Ecology, nine chapters under Genetics, five chapters under Anthropology, four chapters under Systematics and ten chapters under Botany, contributed by the participants.

B. N. Sahay

Changing Tribes of Madhya Pradesh. Tribal Research Institute, Chindwara. Indore Government Regional Press, 1961. Rs. 1.25 nP.

The present publication contains eight articles contributed by various scholars. The articles deal with the manners, customs and ways of life of some of the important tribes of Madhya Pradesh, such as Gond, Bhil, Panikās, etc. The writers are

especially interested in depicting a picture of culture change in the economic, social, religious and political life of these tribes. But one wishes that publications of the Tribal Research Institute should attain a higher standard.

B. Minj

Indian People in Natal. By Hilda Kuiper. Pp. xx, 305, illustrations appendices, bibliography. 1960. The University of Natal Press, Natal.

The author has given us an objective description of the culture and society of Indians settled in Natal.

The book is divided into three sections dealing broadly with society, kinship and religion respectively. The first section contains a history of Indian migration to South Africa, changes which have taken place in caste under the stress of local circumstances, and the character of the new leadership which has emerged in the colonial environment. The second part contains a very satisfactory account of kinship structure, kinship behaviour and of rituals which attend family relationships. The third is an account of Hindu religion, as gathered from personal observation and interviews.

The author has been very painstaking in her studies, and has tried to be eminently fair in spite of her patent sympathies.

One may however differ from her in respect of her understanding of Hindu religion on the basis of observed behaviour, and the oral communication of her subject in regard to religious questions.

One wonders what picture would emerge about the religion of Jesus Christ if one similarly depended on the actual behaviour and oral professions of, say, half-educated, semi-rural communities in Europe or America. Perhaps, even the best of city people in modern Europe or America would not fare much better. But this is beside the point. An objective picture emerging from observation is good for its own sake. Yet, it is perhaps wise not to ascribe omniscience to Science where values and aspirations are involved.

N. K. Bose